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SHEIKH NÂSIR.

The religious head of the Yeseedees.

THE

Nestorians and their Rituals:

WITH THE NARRATIVE OF

A MISSION TO MESOPOTAMIA AND COORDISTAN

IN 1842-1844,

AND OF A

LATE VISIT TO THOSE COUNTRIES IN 1850;

ALSO,

RESEARCHES INTO THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE SYRIAN JACOBITES, PAPAL SYRIANS, AND CHALDEANS, AND AN INQUIRY INTO THE RELIGIOUS TENETS OF THE YEZEEDEES.

BY THE

REV. GEORGE PERCY BADGER,

One of the Honourable East India Company's Chaplains in the Diocese of Bombay.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:

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AND NEW BOND STREET.

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TO THE MEMORY OF

THE LATE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

AND PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND,

AND TO THE

RIGHT HON. AND RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

CHARLES JAMES, LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

THESE VOLUMES

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF PERSONAL BENEFITS RECEIVED

AND OF THEIR LORDSHIPS' ZEAL AND CHARITY

IN BEHALF OF

THE NESTORIANS.

PREFACE TO VOLUME THE FIRST.

A CONSIDERABLE part of the information contained in this volume was collected several years ago, and would have been made public then, but for prudential considerations touching the welfare of the Nestorians. The author regrets this delay the less, since circumstances have permitted him to revist the scene of his labours, and to add to the stock of information acquired during his former sojourn in the East. Yet, notwithstanding, it is with some diffidence that he now sends these pages to the press: they were written in Mosul and its vicinity, where he had no opportunity of submitting them to the revision of any learned friend; and, being himself prevented from returning to England for that purpose, they are sent to the publisher with all the inaccuracies of style arising from the author's limited attainments in this department of literature. He is fully alive to his own backwardness in this respect, and would, therefore, at the outset, candidly apprise his readers, that if they anticipate gratification from the language in which the following researches are narrated, they will most probably be disappointed. Imagery borrowed from fancy sometimes indeed endangers the truthfulness of description, and conveys a wrong impression of the things described; but, when legitimately used, heightens the interest of objects when seen without

destroying their reality, and adds a charm to perusal which every writer is bound to afford, to the best of his ability, who solicits the attention of the reading public. As to his own deductions from the facts and events recorded, these he well knows will be canvassed as all other personal opinions are; but if the result shall eventually tend to further the object which he has in view in publishing these researches, he will feel that he has not written in vain, and will be satisfied.

Now, although the author, for the reasons aforesaid, is debarred the pleasure of recognizing an extraneous help in the compilation of this work, yet he is in duty bound to acknowledge the kindly interest which our late venerable Primate and the present Lord Bishop of London took in the personal welfare of the agents engaged in the mission to the Nestorians, and in the progress and success of their labours. It was chiefly owing to their influence that the enterprize was undertaken, and its short duration and untimely end must be referred rather to the unprepared state of the Church at home rightly and adequately to fit her for the pious task of reforming the Christian communities of the East, than to any want of zeal on the part of their Lordships to promote and to support it. Similar acknowledgments are due to the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, to the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, and to the Committees of the two Societies which provided the funds for the mission, for their uniform kindness and generosity towards those who were commissioned to carry out the benevolent design of their instructions.

The author would furthermore be guilty of unpardonable neglect, were he to omit mentioning his coadjutor, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, now an ordained missionary of the Gospel Propagation Society in India, whose ready co-operation in the work to which both were appointed, and brotherly sympathy in seasons of sickness, weariness, and fatigue, he will ever recall to mind with feelings of lively gratitude.

To the courtesy of Robert Clive, Esq., the author is indebted for the original portrait of Mar Shimoon, and for the two views of an old Nestorian church contained in the second volume of this work. A similar acknowledgment is due to C. F. Barker, Esq., whose long residence in the East enabled him to make a better use of the author's imperfect sketches than he could have expected with less suitable aid. The task, however, of preparing these illustrations for the press devolved upon F. C. Cooper, Esq., the artist who was associated with Mr. Layard, by the authorities of the British Museum, to perpetuate by his pencil the long-lost relics of the power and skill of the Ancient Assyrians. Mr. Cooper has lately been making a laudable effort to communicate to the public a portion of his Eastern acquirements, in a popular form, by means of a diorama of Nineveh; and, it is to be hoped, that he will ere long publish the contents of a well-assorted portfolio, illustrative of oriental costume and manners, which he collected during his sojourn in Mesopotamia and Coordistan. The reader will not fail to perceive how much these volumes owe to the talents of the above-named gentlemen; and to Mr. Cooper especially, are the thanks of the author due for his generous and unsolicited offer to undertake a task which has cost him no little time and trouble.

One word on the principal design of this publication. If the researches which it comprises, or the suggestions which the writer ventures to make on the duty of the Anglican Church to promote the spiritual welfare of the ancient Christian communities in the East, and the way in which such a work should be undertaken and carried out, or the expressed goodwill of the clergy and laity of those communities towards us, and their desire to be more closely united to us in brotherly love and in the confession of our common faith, as these favourable manifestations are made known in the following pages; if these, or any other portions of his work shall tend to rouse in the hearts of

British Churchmen a sincere desire to restore the Nestorians to primitive orthodoxy in doctrine, and to the full enjoyment of the great privileges of the Gospel, and further to exert themselves zealously in this charitable work, the author will deem his labour most fully and amply repaid.

Syrian Convent of Mar Mattai,
August, 1850.

P.S. The MS. of these volumes was forwarded to England and offered to several London publishers, who declined publishing it at their own risk, and as the author was not in circumstances to incur the expense of sending it to the press, he had well-nigh abandoned the hope of seeing the work in print. At this juncture, an esteemed friend obtained for him the acquaintance of Mr. J. Masters, who at once submitted the MS. to the perusal of the Rev. J. M. Neale, Warden of Sackville College. The favourable opinion formed of the work by that gentleman induced Mr. Masters to undertake its publication, and the zeal which he has manifested in its eventual success calls for the author's sincere thanks. The kindness of Mr. Neale led him, moreover, to offer his services to revise the proof sheets, and to supply some notes in illustration of the text. The author most gratefully acknowledges the obligation which this timely and valuable assistance has conferred upon him,—an assistance the more to be appreciated since it was proffered to a stranger.

Aden, Arabia Felix,
October 28*th*, 1851.

NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

The absence of the Author from England rendered it, of course, impossible for him to revise the proofs of the present Work. But it also did more than this. It deprived him of the opportunity of consulting the great writers, who, like Le Quien and Asseman, have treated on the doctrines and history of the Nestorians, and of verifying or modifying his statements by their's.

Under these circumstances, he requested me to take charge of the book through the press. I felt it a privilege to be in any way useful in the publication of so very valuable a contribution to the Ecclesiastical History of the East; but the difficulties of the task have not been inconsiderable.

It is no part of my duty, as Editor, to recommend the work. Still, I cannot but observe, that the second volume treats far more satisfactorily of the rituals and theology of the Nestorians than any book yet published in Europe: while the first supplies a desideratum in Ecclesiastical History, the atrocious massacres of Bedr Khan Beg.

Two remarks, however, I must be allowed to make.

The first is, that Mr. Badger is throughout an advocate for the Nestorians, and (naturally, perhaps laudably) takes an advocate's view of his client's side. Few, I suppose, would be satisfied with the concordat he proposes, in which the character

and sentiments of Nestorius are left an open question. And in the same way, points of resemblance between the Nestorian and English Communions are discovered with amazing ingenuity.

The second is, that while the schismatical interference of Rome with the Orthodox Eastern Church cannot be too strongly reprobated, the case is widely different in her dealings with the Nestorians. If the Eastern Church makes no efforts among them, why is Rome, any more than ourselves, to be debarred from that duty ?

It is to be hoped, however, that English Churchmen will at length awake to the necessity of having an ecclesiastical agent accredited to the East by the synodal voice of the English Church herself. If the following volumes shall in any respect tend to such a result, they will have done yeoman's service both to the Nestorians and to ourselves.

J. M. N.

Sackville College,
February 12, 1852.

INTRODUCTION.

It was during the existence of the Euphrates Expedition sent out by the British Government under the command of Colonel Chesney, R. A., in the year 1835, that the Nestorian tribes inhabiting the mountainous districts of Coordistan, and other Christian sects dwelling between the two great rivers which almost insulate Mesopotamia, were brought into more general notice. The information respecting these communities contained in Rich's "Notes on Coordistan," is very brief, and after him, until very lately, there appears to have been no European traveller in those parts, who had made it a primary object of his research to inquire into the condition of the native Christians. Of the Nestorians in central Coordistan, scarcely anything was known beyond their existence; their isolated position amidst lofty and rugged mountains, as well as the temper of the fierce and lawless Coords by whom they were surrounded, having hitherto presented to the most daring adventurer almost insurmountable obstacles to his attempting to penetrate within their secluded boundary.

These impediments were in a measure removed by the partial establishment of the Ottoman jurisdiction over a large portion of Coordistan. This event took place in the year 1834, when the Turks, roused to a sense of the danger which threatened their eastern territory from the confederate Coords, who under the famous Rawandooz Beg, had plundered and destroyed many villages in the plains of the Tigris, sent a strong army against them under Resheed Pasha, who succeeded in capturing the rebel chief, and for a season effectually weakened the strength

of his warlike followers. This blow, from which the Coords inhabiting the district to the south-east of the Nestorian territory have hardly yet recovered, together with other political intrigues set on foot to that end, had a powerful influence in inducing Noorallah Beg, the Emeer of the independent Coords of Hakkari, to sue for an appointment under the Pasha of Erzeroom, and to be officially recognised by the Sublime Porte. Noorallah Beg already boasted of having reduced the mountain Christians to his obedience, so that the surrender of his own independence virtually comprised the subjection of the Nestorian tribes to the Ottoman sway.

Another event which gradually opened central Coordistan to the researches of the traveller, and to the labours of the Christian missionary, was the appointment of Mohammed Pasha, surnamed Injé Beirakdâr, to the government of the Mosul pashalic. This individual, who from being a groom had risen step by step to the high dignity of a provincial governor, was as famous for his vigorous efforts to reduce to order the unruly tribes comprehended within the limits of his jurisdiction, as for his grasping ambition, and the tyranny with which he oppressed all the subjects of the Sultan placed under his immediate authority. The Osmanlis, fully bent upon establishing Turkish rule over the whole of Coordistan, found in Injé Beirakdâr a fit instrument for effecting the object aimed at, and in furtherance of their purpose placed under his control the hereditary Pasha of Bahdinân, who had hitherto been nominally dependent upon the Pashas of Baghdad. It did not require any very great exercise of political intrigue, at which Mohammed Pasha was a perfect adept, to persuade the Porte that Ismaeel Pasha, then governor of Bahdinân, was disaffected to its interests, and upon this plea he was allowed to expel him from the strong fortress of Amedia, and to extend the limits of his jurisdiction to the foot of the Tyari mountains,—the border-land of the Nestorian tribes.

These machinations eventually led to a direct communication between the government at Mosul and the Nestorian Patriarch, who now placed between two enemies, the Emeer of Hakkari, and Mohammed Pasha, both alike busy in fomenting divisions among the Christians, in order the more easily to seize upon their inheritance, was obliged to refer and submit sometimes to

one and sometimes to the other; and, it is to be feared, was not unfrequently driven in his precarious position to side with that party, which for the time appeared to be the stronger, or from which he had the most to dread both for himself and for his people.

The sad result to the interests of the mountain Nestorians, brought about by the ambitious designs of these two rival Mohammedan rulers, who were all along the agents (unconsciously to themselves perhaps,) of the deep-laid policy of the Porte, will be detailed in the course of the following narrative; they are simply mentioned here in order to show by what instrumentality God was pleased to throw open to the pious efforts of His Church a new country, and a primitive Christian community having many claims upon her sympathy and regard.

The facilities for holding intercourse with the mountain Nestorians, which these political changes introduced, having become known in England through the reports of the Euphrates Expedition, and especially through the information collected by Messrs. Ainsworth and Rassam on their return to Europe through Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, it was agreed upon by the Royal Geographical and Christian Knowledge Societies, to send these gentlemen on a special mission to Coordistan. The general result of their journey Mr. Ainsworth has published in two interesting volumes entitled "Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia;" besides which he drew up a separate report for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, wherein he gives a full account of his visit to the Patriarch, Mar Shimoon, and the mountain Nestorians.

Mr. Ainsworth's report, and other communications received respecting the Christian sects inhabiting that district, induced the Christian Knowledge and Gospel Propagation Societies, chiefly at the suggestion of the Lord Bishop of London, to send out another mission into Coordistan. The previous acquaintance with the East, which the author had acquired during two years' residence there, and especially his knowledge of the Syriac and Arabic languages, seeming in a measure to qualify him for the undertaking, he was deputed to be the bearer of letters commendatory to several of the Eastern Primates from His Grace

the Archbishop of Canterbury, and from the Lord Bishop of London, and to carry out the benevolent intentions of the two Societies as contained in the following instructions:

"INSTRUCTIONS TO THE REV. GEORGE PERCY BADGER, ON HIS DEPARTURE TO COORDISTAN.

In the year 1838, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, gave instructions to Mr. Ainsworth and Mr. Rassam, to make inquiry into the state of the Christians in Coordistan. The result of that inquiry has been communicated to the Society in a Report, transmitted from Mosul in 1840; by which it appears that the Christians both in that country and in Mesopotamia are in a state of very great depression, and that the Patriarch Mar Shimoon, of Julamerk, who is the temporal and ecclesiastical head of the Christians in independent Coordistan, as well as others of the Bishops and Clergy, were anxious to have a Clergyman of the Church of England to assist them in the education and improvement of their people.

It appears also by letters recently received from Mesopotamia, that a considerable number of the Chaldean Christians are very desirous of restoring the independence of their church, and that Mar Elîa of Alkôsh, who claims the patriarchate of the Chaldeans, has proposed to enter into amicable relations with the Church of England.

Under these circumstances it has been determined, with the sanction and approbation of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Bishop of London, to send the Rev. G. P. Badger on a special mission to Chaldea and Coordistan, accompanied by Mr. J. P. Fletcher as his assistant.

Mr. Badger will proceed to his destination as soon as convenient, travelling by way of Constantinople and Trebizond; and if practicable he will pay a visit to Jerusalem in order to put himself in communication with the Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in that city, under whose jurisdiction he will be placed.

The following are the points to which Mr. Badger will direct his attention.

1. To testify to the Bishops and Clergy of those countries the goodwill of our Church towards them, and the desire which

is felt in England to see their churches restored to a flourishing condition as branches of the True Vine, taking care to explain to them the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and to assure them that she claims no jurisdiction or authority over them, or over any of the Churches of the East.

"2. To render such assistance to the Patriarchs, Bishops, and Clergy, as he may be able to give in the work of Christian education, and to take such steps as they may approve for the establishment of schools, and for the instruction of the people generally.

"3. To make inquiries as to their wants in regard to the Holy Scriptures, and to distribute copies of the Bible and of the Arabic version of the English Liturgy wherever they may be useful.

"4. To procure ancient MSS. of the Holy Scriptures and of the Chaldean liturgies and rituals; and to ascertain what alterations have been made in their rituals in modern times, and by what authority, and how far these alterations have been approved by the native clergy and people.

"5. To collect such Arabic MSS. and printed copies of the Holy Scriptures and of ancient liturgies as may be serviceable in the new translations of the Bible and of the Liturgy which are being prepared by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

"6. To make particular inquiries into the state and condition of the churches in Chaldea and Coordistan with respect to doctrine and discipline, and to the numbers of their clergy and people.

"7. To make communications upon all these subjects to the Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, and also to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."

The following are copies of the letters commendatory above alluded to:

"To the Right Reverend, our brethren in CHRIST, the Patriarchs and Prelates of the Holy Eastern Church, William, by Divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, greeting in the LORD.

"We earnestly commend to your good will and brotherly kindness our beloved in CHRIST, George Percy Badger, a Priest of our United Church of England and Ireland, whom we have charged, as occasion may be offered, to salute your Holinesses in our name, and to express to you our respect and affection towards you, and our zeal and fervent desire for the welfare and peace of your churches. He will tell you all things that you may wish to know concerning our apostolical Church, and its feelings of love and kindness towards the ancient and apostolical churches of CHRIST in the East. Wherefore we entreat you to receive him as a brother, and to accept at our hands the expression of our constant goodwill towards you, which we would desire to offer by him.

"Given under our hand and seal, at our palace of Lambeth, this thirteenth day of March, in the year of our LORD, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

"W. (L. S.) CANTUAR."

"To their Holinesses the Patriarchs and other Prelates of the Christian Churches in Mesopotamia and Coordistan, William, by Divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, greeting in the LORD.

"Understanding that you have expressed the desire that we would send to you one of the clergy of our Church, who might assist you in the establishing of schools for the instruction of children, and make known unto us more particularly the things of which you stand in need, we have herewith sent to you our beloved in CHRIST, George Percy Badger, a priest of our United Church of England and Ireland, whom we have charged to salute your Holinesses in our name, and to assure you of our goodwill towards you, and our hearty desire to render you all the assistance in our power. We earnestly commend him to your Holinesses, and request you to receive him as a brother, and to make known your wants to him, and we shall be rejoiced to learn through him all things concerning you, and by what means we may more effectually contribute to your prosperity and welfare.

"Given under our hand and seal, at Lambeth, this thirteenth

day of March, in the year of our LORD, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

"W. (L. S.) CANTUAR."

The next letter from our late Most Reverend Primate is the same as that immediately preceding, with the exception of the address, which is as follows:

"To His Holiness the Patriarch and other Prelates of the independent churches of Coordistan, William, by Divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, greeting in the LORD."

The next is from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London.

"To the Most Reverend Father, His Holiness Mar Shimoon, Patriarch of the Church of CHRIST in Coordistan, in the name of JESUS CHRIST, (He is LORD of all,) health and peace.

By these letters we commend to your Holiness our beloved son in the LORD, George Percy Badger, a priest of the ancient apostolic Church of England, wherein I am an unworthy Bishop, entreating you to receive him with fatherly love and kindness, of which he is deserving. He will make known to your Holiness the present state of our Church; and our desire to act in the spirit of Christian friendship and goodwill towards the Church over which the Divine Providence has placed you. And we have directed him to report to us concerning your welfare, and the present condition of the ancient Church in Coordistan.

"We pray that ALMIGHTY GOD, the FATHER of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, may have you in His holy keeping, and protect the Church committed to your care.

"Your Holiness's humble servant,

"And brother in CHRIST,

"C. J. LONDON.

"London, March 29, 1842."

(L. S.)

It not having been found convenient for him to visit Jerusa-

lem on his journey into Coordistan, the author was provided with the subjoined additional letter from the late Bishop Alexander.

"To their Holinesses the Patriarchs and Bishops of the Christian churches in Mesopotamia and Coordistan, grace, mercy, and peace, from GOD the FATHER, and CHRIST JESUS our LORD. This is the sincere wish and prayer of Michael Solomon Alexander, by Divine permission, Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem.

"It is one of the pleasing signs of the times in which we are privileged to live, that a desire is felt in the different Apostolic churches of CHRIST to hold out to each other the right hand of fellowship, and to endeavour by word and deed to promote each other's temporal and eternal welfare. We cannot but hail this as an indication of the speedy approach of that much longed-for period, when the kingdom of CHRIST shall be established, and when the LORD shall be One and His Name One. It was with a view to this, that I have, in the providence of GOD lately been placed here, and I have much pleasure in adding my brotherly salutations to those of His Grace the Primate, and the Lord Bishop of London, and to join with them in the request that your Holinesses will receive the bearer, our beloved in CHRIST, George Percy Badger, a priest of our holy Apostolic Church, with all fatherly love and kindness, as he comes to you with a message of peace and offers of assistance.

"It will at all times afford me pleasure to hear of you, and of your church's welfare, and to be in any way instrumental in promoting it. Praying that the King of Zion may bless His Church and people everywhere, and hasten the coming of His kingdom,

"I remain,
"Your Holinesses' humble servant
and brother in CHRIST,
"M. S. ANGL. HIEROSOL."

"Mount Zion in Jerusalem,
August 15th, 1842."

L. S.

The foregoing instructions will make the reader acquainted

with the object of our mission, and with the nature of the researches contained in the following volumes. Not that they are confined to these topics; for it was judged that even way-side information respecting countries and people as yet but little known would not be devoid of interest to the general reader, and could in no way contravene the ends proposed by the Societies. In these volumes, therefore, will be found many occasional notices of the different places visited, the political, social, and religious condition of the inhabitants interspersed with a narrative of the usual incidents of travel, which, as when they occur, often serve to relieve the tedium of a journey, so when told frequently attemper the dryness of more important details. Moreover, in order to render a portion of this work serviceable as a guide-book to those whom business or pleasure may hereafter bring into Mesopotamia and Coordistan, the diary form has been adopted, and the distance from one locality to another recorded with an ever-recurring precision, which the fire-side reader may deem tedious, but which the actual traveller will often refer to with eagerness and satisfaction.

A melancholy interest will attach itself to the following pages on account of the details which they contain respecting the repeated massacre of the Nestorians by the barbarous Coords, the flight of the Patriarch Mar Shimoon, the captivity and sufferings of many of the Christians among the Moslems, their rescue, and the means adopted to restore them to their homes, and the venerable Patriarch to his ancient diocese. The part which the author was called upon to take, in relieving the necessities of the refugees and liberated captives, and in supporting the cause of the unfortunate Nestorians in various other ways, as also the full confidence which was placed in him by Mar Shimoon, who deputed him to transact the most important affairs touching the welfare of the whole Nestorian community, put him in possession of many facts relative to these disasters which have never yet been made public, and gave him a full insight into the political relations existing between the Patriarch and the Coordish Emeers of Hakkari, and into the intrigues which were set on foot by the Ottoman Porte to compass the subjection of the independent tribes.

Further, as the author resided in Mosul nearly a year after

Mar Shimoon and many of his clergy and laity had sought refuge in that city, he had abundant opportunity of acquiring from the best sources ample information respecting the civil and ecclesiastical government which had hitherto existed among the Nestorians. To the Patriarch and especially to his worthy and learned Archdeacon Kash'Auraha, who with his family were inmates of the author's house up to the date of his departure from Mosul, he is indebted for the statistics of the churches, clergy, and laity, belonging to his community. The correspondence which he afterwards kept up with Mar Shimoon, and his own researches during a second visit to the Nestorians in 1850, have enabled him to continue their history up to the present time, and to give a succinct narrative of the downfall of the confederate Coordish chiefs their enemies, and of the final establishment of the Ottoman rule over the mountain tribes of Central Coordistan.

The Syrian Monophysites, or Jacobites, will frequently come under notice in the ensuing pages, and a full account will be given of their present condition as a Christian sect; for although it formed no part of the author's instructions to make any researches among this people, yet he was thrown into circumstances where duty called him to assist in a struggle which is not yet ended between them and the dissenters from their body who have joined the communion of the Church of Rome. In so doing he was necessarily brought into friendly relations with their Patriarch and Bishops, and during his residence at Mosul, and when visiting the principal towns and villages inhabited by this people, he found many opportunities of labouring for their welfare; and although truth forbids that he should give a very favourable account of the state of religion and ecclesiastical discipline among them, yet he will ever cherish a pleasing recollection of the hospitality and kindness with which he was received, when they knew him to be a priest of the Church of England.

The efforts of Latin missionaries are frequently noticed in these volumes, the plans upon which their operations are based shown, and the chief causes of their success, and its results, considered. The history of the two modern communities, the Papal Syrian and Chaldean, is also given, together with the part which French political agents have acted, and are still acting, to

forward the interests of the See of Rome throughout Turkey. Some remarks will also be made on the missions of Dissenting Societies in that empire, and the impolicy and mischief of their interference with ecclesiastical concerns proved, from the necessary tendency of their doctrines and principles to produce latitudinarianism in religious belief, and never-ending schisms, among the Christians of the East.

Familiar intercourse with the Yezeedees, or Devil Worshippers as they are sometimes called, afforded the author frequent opportunities for collecting many particulars respecting their social habits and customs, as also of their religious rites and ceremonies, which may throw light upon the origin of this singular people. Among these details will be found a description of the Melek Taoos, or Brazen Cock, no authentic account of which has hitherto been published, and of the processions and festivities connected with the worship of that idol. Having been fortunate enough to obtain from one of their Sheikhs the loan of the only MS. which they appear to possess bearing on their creed, the author was also enabled by the aid of this important document to fortify the hypothesis which connected the tenets of the modern Yezeedees with those of the ancient Magi of Persia, and the results of this investigation, if not perfect or satisfactory, may at least serve to guide the researches of future travellers and scholars.

The geography of the route as laid down in the map accompanying this work is almost entirely drawn up from personal notice. It has no claim whatever to scientific exactness, though pains have been taken to render it as correct as the means and capabilities of the author enabled him to make it. The position of many of the principal localities is borrowed from the labours of former travellers, who have fixed it by accurate astronomical observation, and chiefly from Ainsworth; but the intermediate spaces have been filled up with the aid of a compass, a good watch, a careful noting of the time spent in journeying from place to place, and particular attention to the general features of the country.

One word with regard to the occasional strictures passed upon the statements and opinions of other travellers through the districts visited by the author. He has gladly availed himself of

the assistance which the result of their inquiries afforded him in his researches; but when they appear to have been misinformed, he has not hesitated, for the sake of truth and science, to correct them. He himself is doubtless open to the same criticism, and therefore without craving the indulgence of his readers to pass over his faults, (which, by the way, they are not a whit more likely to do for the asking,) he now leaves them to commence his narrative.

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page	31,	line	22,	*for*	Hussim	*read* Hussein
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,,	82	,,	10	,,	El-Tâhara	,, Et-Tâhara
,,	91	note		,,	Jeirahân	,, Teirahân
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THE NESTORIANS

AND

Their Rituals, &c.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from England, and arrival at Constantinople.—Mutran Behnâm, and the Jacobite Churches.—French and Russian protection of the Greek, Armenian and Latin Christians.—Patriarchs at Constantinople.—Mode of Electing the Greek Patriarch.—Missions of the American Independents in the East.—Results of their operations.—Sir Stratford Canning.—Intercourse with the Greek and Armenian Clergy.—Desirableness of rightly making known the doctrine and discipline of the Anglican Churches to the Churches of the East.—Plan of a work to that end.

Long shall I recall to mind, with sincere gratitude, the pious valediction of our late revered Primate at Lambeth, and the cordial farewell with which the present Lord Bishop of London sped us on our way, and commended our persons and our work to the blessing of the Almighty.

We left London bridge on the 2nd of April, 1842, for the coast of France; but as the journal of an ordinary traveller through that country would be of little interest to the generality of readers, and contain, moreover, matter foreign to the design of this work, I shall simply state, that after arriving at Marseilles, touching at several seaports in the Mediterranean, spending some time on business at Malta, and visiting Syra and Smyrna, we reached Constantinople on the 24th of June, where

it was proposed that we should make all the necessary arrangements for our further journey eastward.

Here we were welcomed by the Rev. Horatio Southgate, a missionary of the American Episcopal Church, who had been sent out originally to labour among the Mohammedans of Persia; but who was now directing his efforts to the amelioration of the spiritual condition of the Jacobites. Mutran Behnâm, the Jacobite Bishop of Mosul, was residing at his house, and from him, as well as from our kind host, I learned much of the state of the Christians in Mesopotamia. He had been sent to the capital by his Patriarch, to use all his influence with the Porte, for the restoration to their community of several churches and church lands in the districts of Diarbekir and Mosul, which had been seized upon by the dissenters from their body, who had submitted to the see of Rome. This work of proselytism commenced in Aleppo, towards the end of the 17th century, and gradually extended to other parts of Syria and Mesopotamia, fostered as it was by the consular agents of France, and abetted and protected by their ambassadors at Constantinople. The result of this powerful co-operation on the part of a foreign power, which laid claim to a protectorate over all the adherents of the Pope in the Turkish empire, was the alienation or division of many of their churches and church property, and the consequent depression and impoverishment of the parent body. The venality of the Turkish ministers had over and over again been bribed by the two contending parties to annul their preceding decrees; but up to this time the seceders had triumphed, and the Jacobite Patriarch was now, through his representative, seeking to obtain a reversal of the imperial order, which gave his adversaries the partial possession of the churches originally under the jurisdiction of his predecessors.

The question herein involved must be viewed apart from the doctrinal orthodoxy or heterodoxy of the two communities, with which it has no direct concern; and when so regarded, there can be little doubt, that the decree which confirmed to the seceders the possession of their spoil was a palpable injustice, perpetrated by the strong towards the weak, in defiance of all right and precedent. In other instances of late occurrence, the Porte

had acted, or, I should rather say, had been compelled to act, differently. Thus, at Angora, out of 6,000, as many as 4,000 families had seceded from the Monophysite Armenian body; nevertheless, the minority retained possession of the seven churches in that town, and the dissenters were obliged to worship in a chapel of their own building. At Tocât, where similar proselytism has taken place, the seceders were unable to make good their claim to a single church. At Diarbekir, some years ago, the whole Greek community of the town became Romanists. The Greek Patriarch instituted proceedings against them for keeping possession, and succeeded in forcing them to give up the church which they had retained after their change of creed.

Why, then, it may be asked, were the Jacobites treated with such injustice? The reason is evident, and serves to disclose somewhat of those foreign machinations which exert so powerful an influence in such matters on the councils of the Porte. The Greek *rayahs* being of the same creed with the Russians, look up to that power for its support, and the out-spreading wing of the great eagle of the north casts its protecting shadow over the spiritual interests of its co-religionists. And since so goodly a portion of Upper Armenia was meekly ceded to the empire of the Tsar by the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi; and the Catholicos, or Patriarch of the Armenians, became a subject of the Father of All the Russias, those also among the subjects of the Porte who acknowledge obedience to him come in for a share of the same powerful aid. The notoriety of this foreign influence, and the pace with which it was advancing, may be gathered from the following circumstance.

Being one day at the Armenian patriarchate in Constantinople, the collector of the subscriptions for the Turkish Government Gazette called for the amount due from the Armenian subscribers. A long altercation took place between him and an official, who acted as agent for the payment of the money, the latter declaring that he would not disburse anything on account of those who had been absent the whole or part of the past year. On inquiry it turned out, that many of the opulent Armenians were in the habit of taking a trip to Odessa, or to some other Russian town, and after residing there a year or more, received a passport as Russian subjects, and returned

to Constantinople, where the native authorities dared not to call in question the rights of their new citizenship.

I do not know whether such international filching has received any check within the last few years; but of this there can be no doubt, that Russia still exercises almost unlimited sway over the affairs of the Greek Church in Turkey, and that the Armenian *rayahs* look up to her for assistance, which for the extension of her political influence, if for no other reason, she is never backward to grant. Causes such as these are sufficient to explain why the Greeks and Armenians have been able to make a better stand against the encroachments of Rome than the poor Syrians, whose comparatively small number, their distance from Russia, and geographical position,[1] render them of little importance to the political views of the great Tsar. And added to this, in all their conflicts, they have had to contend single-handed against the powerful influence of France, which arrogates to herself the right of protecting all the "Catholics" in the Turkish empire. This right, which has been put forth with so much impudence, and which some years ago was seemingly admitted in the House of Lords, when a discussion took place on the state of the Christians in Turkey, has no foundation whatever in any treaty made between France and the Porte. Let the capitulations be searched, and the only superior right granted to France is that of protecting the conventual establishments at Jerusalem, which a lax interpretation may extend to the Latin missionaries in other parts of the empire; but not one word is said which in any way can be taken to entitle that power to protect the subjects of the Porte who have joined the Church of Rome.

The influence which the representatives of France at Constantinople have exercised in behalf of emissaries from Rome, and their intervention in favour of the proselytes made from the different Christian communities in the Turkish empire, is not kept secret by their own writers. The Jesuit, Mons. Eugène Boré, thus writes in his work on Armenia, published in the "Univers":—"Si les catholiques n'avaient trouvé un appui politique dans les ambassadeurs, et principalement dans celui de France, le protecteur official de la religion des Latins, ils n'auraient pu résister à la persecution." And again:—

" C'est dans cette circonstance que l'ambassadeur Français, Monsieur Guilleminot, protecteur legal de tous les Catholiques de l'empire Turc, opéra une réaction heureux au moyen de ses énergiques représentations." The effect of such powerful support, whilst it has led to the encouragement of proselytism, and to the extension of the authority of the see of Rome, has also had an undoubted tendency to loosen the dependence of a whole class of *rayahs* upon the justice and protection of the Porte, and to augment a pernicious foreign influence.

There are four Patriarchs residing at Constantinople, viz., the Greek and Armenian, and the so-called Greek Catholic and Armenian Catholic, who have large establishments here, called Patrik-khanch, or patriarchates. They are the medium through which all the official affairs of their different communities are carried on at the Porte, to which end they receive a Nishân, or decoration, from the Sultan on their election to office. The incumbent of the Armenian Patriarchate, however, is generally a Bishop, who receives the honorary title of " Patriarch," in order to put him on a level with the heads of the other Churches : the Armenians, like ourselves, having no Patriarch,[2] but a Catholicos or Primate, who resides at Etchmiadzine. The Jacobites have no representative at Constantinople, but their official correspondence with the Porte is carried on through the Monophysite Armenian Patriarch ; and this doubtless is another cause why their ecclesiastical interests have been so much neglected. The affairs of the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia are in like manner committed to the care of the Armenian Catholic Patriarch.

During our residence at Constantinople, the Greek Patriarch died, and two days after a successor was appointed in the person of the Bishop of Δερκαὶ, which is one of the largest dioceses in the empire. It derives its name from two small islands in the Black Sea called Δερκαὶ,[3] but commences at Therapia, and includes a large extent of country around the capital. Some, I understand, proposed the late Patriarch, who had been deposed at the instance of Lord Ponsonby :[4] but doubts arising whether he would be recognized by the Porte, another was appointed.

The mode of electing a new Patriarch is as follows : the

Holy Synod, consisting of twelve Bishops, together with a number of the lower clergy, the principal influential laymen, and the heads of the trade corporations, assemble in the great hall of the Patriarchate, where they deliberate with closed doors, whilst a crowd generally fills the outer court anxiously awaiting the result. The senior member of the Synod then proposes an individual, and if approved of, the rest cry out Ἄξιος, *He is worthy;* if they disapprove of the selection, they exclaim Ἀνάξιος, *He is unworthy.* It seldom happens, however, that there is any division in their councils, as the whole is previously concerted by the four principal laymen, who exercise great influence over the Bishops. In the present instance there was no dissenting voice, and when the name of the successful candidate was announced to the people without, it was received with a general shout of Ἄξιος! Ἄξιος!

It will not be out of place to give here some account of the proceedings of the American Board of Foreign Missions in Constantinople, whose agents belong to the Presbyterian, Independent, Dutch Reformed, and other dissenting bodies, especially as my conduct towards them during my residence at the capital was publicly censured by certain periodicals. It is well known to every one, that many of the doctrines, and the entire constitution of these sects, are as opposed to the teaching and discipline of the Anglican Church, as they are to the faith and ecclesiastical government professed by all the Eastern Churches. Yet, notwithstanding this wide difference existing between us, they designedly or otherwise give it to be understood that they hold the same faith as we do, and differ only on the most trivial points. This opinion has been so deeply impressed upon the great mass of the native Christians, and has been so strengthened by the manner in which many of our own missionaries have fraternized with them, that I have found it a most difficult task to persuade them to the contrary; and their missionary proceedings have been carried on upon principles so diametrically opposed to those professed by our Church, that any efforts on our part have come to be regarded not only with suspicion, but to be treated as pernicious by all the Churches of the east.

The right, moreover, which the committee of the American

Dissenting Board arrogate to labour among the eastern Christians, is as ludicrous as it is presumptuous, and savours much more of exclusiveness, which they are so fond of attributing to us, than any measures yet undertaken by the Church of England for the benefit of the ancient communities in these parts. Take for instance the following extract from their report for the year ending September, 1841, in which the right of the English to labour among the Nestorians is more than called in question: "Not long after Dr. Grant's second visit to the Independent Nestorians, the Patriarch was visited by Dr. Ainsworth, agent of the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, accompanied by Mr. Rassam, who is of Nestorian origin, and now English Vice-Consul at Mosul. Dr. Ainsworth was understood by the Patriarch to offer, in behalf of the English National Church, to establish schools among them, and to aid them in other ways; but the Committee have not seen his own report of the matter. The Committee have been assured, however, on competent authority, that it is not the intention of their English brethren to attempt a mission among the Nestorians. Some consequences have resulted from this partial interference, that of course were not anticipated by Dr. Ainsworth and his associate, but which show the importance of carefully avoiding whatever would tend to awaken the thought among the Nestorian ecclesiastics, that there are rival Protestant sects and interests, upon which they may practise for the private gratification of avaricious desires."

Nor is this the only instance in which our right to labour for the benefit of the Oriental Christians, as our own Church may deem most fit, is called in question by the same body. The establishment of an Anglican Bishopric at Jerusalem is thus commented upon by Dr. Anderson their secretary: "This mission, [to Syria,] Dr. Anderson stated, is threatened with expulsion from the country by the influence of a spirit which threatens all evangelical Churches. From one of its most conspicuous manifestations it is called Puseyism; but it is found in all Protestant sects. Its object is to extend the power of *The Church*. It treats the establishment and extension of church power as the end to be attained, and is therefore directly at war with the true missionary spirit, which makes the publication of Gospel truth

for the salvation of men the great object of its labours, and regards Churches as mere agencies for effecting it. This spirit at the present moment portends more evil to the cause of truth and piety throughout the world than it is in the power of the whole Popedom to inflict. Prudential considerations have hitherto prevented the full disclosure of what the Committee know on this subject, and must still prevent it in some degree. It is time, however, to announce that our missionaries are threatened by an extended interference from a great ecclesiastical power, which denies our right to preach the Gospel anywhere. This interference is connected with the late appointment of an English Bishop at Jerusalem, who, the newspapers announce, has sailed for Joppa in the steam-ship 'Devastation.'" The following, bearing a later date, was doubtless intended as a recantation of the preceding, but the same jealousy lurks in every line: "Dr. Anderson said, The English Bishop, whose appointment for Jerusalem was mentioned at the concert in January, arrived at Jerusalem on the 21st of that month. We have lately seen a printed statement of proceedings relative to this bishopric, published by authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with a pamphlet of about one hundred pages, printed in London and dedicated, by permission, to the Bishop of Oxford, on the nature of the intercourse which is desirable between the Church of England and the Oriental Churches. The effect of establishing this bishopric in Syria upon our mission in that country must depend in great measure upon the personal character of the Bishop; but it is beyond question, so far as the parties in England are concerned, that the whole operation is based upon high, exclusive, church principles; though the impression we first had connecting it with Puseyism, (which grew out of a letter, apparently of high authority, from a distinguished Puseyite, published in the London 'Times' newspaper) is not sustained, I am happy to say, by the official documents. These documents declare the Bishop's *missionary* duties to relate chiefly to the Jews. He is himself, as is well known, a converted Jew."

Added to the above grounds, several instances of their unfriendliness to him and to his work, and of their unwarrantable sectarian proceedings among the Armenians, as related to me

by the Rev. H. Southgate, confirmed me in the opinion that I ought to hold no intercourse with them, and decided me not to return the visits which one or two of the missionaries obligingly paid me, though I did not see them, being absent at the time. In thus acting I did violence to my own natural feelings, for I had been personally acquainted with these gentlemen years before, and held them in high esteem for their uniform kindness and other excellent qualities. But I had a duty to perform for the Church,—I was commissioned by my superiors to seek intercourse with the heads of the Eastern communities, and to make known to them, not only our good-will towards them, but our doctrines and constitution, and I sacrificed my feelings to what I deemed to be a solemn and imperative obligation. For how could I rightly perform the latter, if at the same time friendly intercourse with those who were doing all in their power to create schisms in the Churches, pointed me out as their associate? or how could I justify such intercourse with my repeated expositions and assurances to them that the Independents were not of us, but originally Separatists from the Church of England, and held doctrines widely differing from our own? It was impossible; and any such fellowship on my part would have been hollow and insincere. And why should the Independents object that their peculiar doctrines should be made known to the Eastern Churches? If true, he who exposes them will serve as their minister; and if false, the sooner they abandon them and return to the Catholic faith of their ancestors the better. If the differences which separate us are as trifling as they would make them, then their continuance in schism is the greater sin, and they must feel persuaded that, if united with us, their work would be far more likely to be blessed among the Christians of the East.

Let it not for a moment be thought that any ill-will has dictated the above. As a body of men the American Independents are exemplary in their lives and conversation, and my heart's desire is that they may see the great hindrance which their continued separation causes to the success of Eastern missions, and be led to join with us in the confession of "one LORD, one faith, one baptism."

During our stay in Constantinople the American dissenting

missionaries had made little progress among the Armenians, but they have since succeeded, chiefly, I regret to say, through the influence of England, in getting their proselytes to be recognised by the Porte as a separate sect called "Protestants," and the number of their adherents from the same community is said to be increasing, especially in Aintâb near Aleppo, and in other places. Here, then, we see the ultimate result of their plans, though they have loudly affirmed that it was not their design to create schism. However sincerely such assertions were made, they must at once be regarded as puerile in the extreme; since professing, as they do, to reject such doctrines as the mysterious efficacy of the sacraments, episcopacy, the use of a ritual, appointed festivals and fasts, and to hold in the place of these the unlimited right of every individual to choose his own creed from the Holy Scriptures, they are bound in all honesty to teach that the former are errors or irrelevant to salvation, and that the latter is the safer and more excellent way. And can it be supposed that proselytes to these views would themselves remain, or be permitted by their clergy to remain, in communion with their native Churches?

But if the principles of dissent are unscriptural, so are they also opposed to the genius and sympathies of the oriental mind. Up to the present time, no one form of republicanism in religion has ever arisen in the East; and I am fully persuaded that the present partial success of the Independents will be ephemeral, or lead eventually to the spread of a pernicious rationalism wherever their tenets meet with acceptance. They may succeed in spreading abroad a vast amount of secular knowledge through the medium of their schools, and may bring up many eastern youths to argue and to dispute, but the good, if any, will rest here. Trained like their masters, to respect no authority in matters of faith but their own individual judgment upon the text of Scripture, and united to each other by no other bond than that of a common rejection of some of the errors of their parent Churches, the proselytes can never exist in a compact community, exhibit the outward order and life of a branch of the heavenly vine, or "grow up into Him in all things which is the Head, even CHRIST, from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted, by that which every joint supplieth,

according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love." I had some conversation with several of their principal converts, who called upon me of their own accord in Beyroot and Aleppo as late as 1850, and the truth of the above remarks forced itself upon me. Talk of the infallibility of the Pope! these young men seemed to lay claim to inspiration, and decided what was truth and what was error with the assurance of Apostles. Another thing which struck me also in their conduct, was the importance which they attached to Protestantism, by which I mean the bare rejection of certain doctrines held to be true by the communities from which they had seceded. Theirs was evidently a religion of negation; for, these errors discarded, it did not appear with them a matter of much importance what truths were embraced and what were rejected. As to all outward forms and sacred rites, these they looked upon with contempt, and it made one's heart sick to hear these children of yesterday treat with scorn and derision things which their forefathers and the holy Church throughout the world had revered from the beginning of Christianity.

Sad, sad indeed, is it to think what the necessary consequences of such teaching must be! The leaven has already begun to work, and unless stayed in its progress, will sooner or later taint the Eastern Churches with a latitudinarianism and rationalism, far more pernicious than the errors and superstitions with which they have so long defaced the pure truths of the Gospel. It is time indeed, that the Church of England should awake to a sense of her responsibilities towards the East, from which she first received a knowledge of CHRIST, and to emulate the zeal of the Independents, whose large band of missionaries, extensive scholastic establishments, and sumptuous residences, betoken an earnestness and liberality worthy of our imitation.

During our stay at the capital I was honoured with several interviews with Sir Stratford Canning, whose courtesy and friendliness I shall ever remember with gratitude. He was then as since, doing all in his power to obtain an amelioration of the condition of the Christians in Turkey, and his benevolent efforts have not been in vain. Unswerving in his

integrity, firm in his just demands, and spurning the questionable expediency of ordinary diplomatists, he has wrought for himself a name for uprightness and inflexibility of purpose and principle which even the lax Turks have learned to honour and to applaud.

The hot season having set in before our preparations for departure were fully made, we decided to remain at Constantinople, where for the space of three months, I had frequent opportunities, in company with Mr. Southgate, of conversing with many of the Greek and Armenian Clergy, and of explaining to them the doctrine and discipline of the English Church. For the reasons already given, they were profoundly ignorant of us, and in most cases looked upon us as a sect of Protestants, differing little, if at all, from the Independents. It has appeared to me, that, if a treatise were written with the sanction of our Bishops at home, and dedicated to the Patriarchs and other clergy of the East, in which our Church and her relations to other Churches should be fully explained, the effect thereof would greatly tend to remove the many suspicions, misconceptions, and erroneous notions, which at present exist among them in regard to ourselves. The following should be among the points treated of:—History of the foundation of the British Churches; the commencement of Papal domination; the different conduct of our Church under the Papal yoke; causes which led to a reform; the Reformation explained and vindicated; the doctrines and corrupt practices which were then discarded; why others not corrupt were suspended or disallowed; an exposition of our faith as contained in the Creeds, Articles, Rituals, Homilies, and Canons; causes of our little intercourse with the Oriental Churches, arising out of our former subjection to the Pope, the Reformation and subsequent events, extensive colonies to provide for, our isolated position, &c.; attempts formerly made to bring about communion with the holy Eastern Church: these altogether distinct from the late efforts of Dissenters which are not recognized by our Church; what are the religious principles of Dissenters in the United States and in England; the Church of America shown to be a sister Church; our amicable designs and wishes on behalf of the Eastern Churches; the blessings which may be anticipated by a re-union

of the East and West, &c. I am persuaded that a work of this kind would be well received, extensively read, and be productive of much general good.

So numerous are the published journals now-a-days of travellers who have visited Constantinople, that I must refer the reader to them for a full account of the modern Byzantium. Its unrivalled situation and genial atmosphere, its sea-river lined with sumptuous palaces and sylvan valleys, its Golden Horn traversed by many a light caïque, its magnificent mosques, and extensive cemeteries, over which forests of cypress throw a perpetual shade, its gaudy and rich bazaars, crowded with merchants and spectators from every eastern clime, all these deserve a detailed description; but this task I must leave to others and betake me to my onward journey.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Constantinople and arrival at Samsoon.—Description of Samsoon.—Amâsia, the ancient Amasea.—Intercourse with Armenian clergy.—Tocât, its trade and population.—New Papal Armenian Church.—Intervention of France to obtain the erection of new churches.—Grave of Henry Martyn.—Tocât, anciently Eudocia, and not the Comana Pontica.—Jews at Tocât.

We bade farewell to our kind friend Mr. Southgate at Therapia on the 30th September as we embarked on board the Austrian steamer "Prince Metternich," and shortly after found ourselves on the troubled waters of the Euxine. At 6 A.M. we reached Sinope, a small sea-port of ancient Paphlagonia, where we remained but half an hour to disembark a few Turkish passengers, and at 1 P.M. we cast anchor in the roadstead of Samsoon. Notwithstanding that this is a place of growing importance, at which the steamers from Constantinople touch in their weekly voyages to Trebizond, such is the neglect of the Turkish government that it cannot boast of a quay or pier, and men and merchandize are landed on the shoulders of porters who wade up to their middle in order to come at the boats. The remains of an old pier are visible on the beach, but like every thing else in this empire, that which begins to decay is left to perish, nor does aught but stern necessity drive the government to attempt any restoration.

Samsoon is situated at the foot of a range of high hills which border the shores of the Black Sea from east to west as far as the eye can reach. It was anciently known as Amisus, a name given to it by a colony of the Miletians who settled here, and who were afterwards joined by emigrants from Cappadocia, and by a band of Athenians who fled hither from the tyranny of Aristion. Nothing however remains of the former attractions

which induced Pompey to select it as his favourite residence. On a hill to the west of the town are a few ruins, which have been supposed to point out the site of the ancient acropolis, but this is very doubtful. The modern town is a miserable assemblage of wretched houses, said to contain three hundred and fifty Mohammedan families. A crime committed by a member of the Greek Church some years ago was considered sufficient ground to exclude any Christian from taking up his residence within the town, and the descendants of the citizens of ancient Amisus inhabit the large village of Cadi-kieui, about three hours distant from Samsoon, where they have a church and two priests, one of whom is the village schoolmaster. They are all of the Greek rite, and belong to the diocese of Trebizond.[5]

A lodging was provided for us in one of the town houses through the kindness of Mr. Richard Stevens, the British Vice-Consul, where we put up for the night. In the meanwhile our Tatar was engaged in making the necessary arrangements, such as hiring horses and mules, and procuring provisions for our departure on the morrow. I had been advised by travellers who had gone over our projected route by no means to go unaccompanied by a Tatar, and now at the outset, as well as during the whole journey, we found the services of old Kushker Oghloo almost indispensable. Had he been a little more conscientious in the fulfilment of his engagement, we should have been spared some few inconveniences and extra expenses which his duplicity and avarice imposed upon us; but my former experience in eastern travelling prevented any disappointment on this score, and on the whole we had much cause to be thankful for the important services which he rendered us. Without his assistance we should often have been obliged to encamp in the open air, more frequently to have put up with scanty food, and repeatedly to have suffered impositions without any possibility of redress. His semi-official character generally ensured respect to our party, and added weight to the imperial firman which we had obtained before leaving Constantinople. It was ludicrous in the extreme to witness his first interviews with several of the pashas on the road. After some preliminary inquiries as to what was going forward at the capital, he was generally asked whether his protégés had a firman. "*Boo kadar*," said Kushker

Oghloo, stretching out his fat arms to their utmost extent, as if to intimate that the document in question was two yards long and adequately stringent in import.*

Oct. 3rd.—After breakfasting with the Consul we set off from Samsoon at 10 A.M., our road lying over a hilly country well clothed with wood, particularly the stunted oak and several species of acacia. In about three hours we entered the skirts of a forest, but were soon obliged to leave the caravan route and to take refuge in a miserable Moslem village called Chakal-kieui, as the rain now descended upon us in torrents. Here our accommodations were of the worst description: a sorry beginning to those of our party who had not been accustomed to eastern travelling. The khan of the village being full, and moreover open in every direction to the impending storm, we were obliged one and all to take up our abode in a wretched hovel, about ten feet by twelve, the mud floor of which was covered with piles of wild apples, which grow in the woods around. This fruit is gathered by the villagers and sent in large quantities to Constantinople, where it is used for culinary purposes. Besides the apples, a number of agricultural implements and articles of household furniture of the most rustic description were left to encumber the only room of the poor tenants who had been dislodged for our temporary accommodation. Uncomfortable as we were under these circumstances, the discomfort was nothing compared to what we suffered during the night from the swarms of fleas, which prevented any one of our party from sleeping a wink, until the morning dawn bade us to prepare for our departure.

Oct. 4th.—Left Chakal-kieui at 7 A.M. and in two hours and a half reached Cavak, a Mohammedan village of about forty mud and log huts, with a small mosque, where we exchanged horses at the *Menzil-khaneh*, or post-house. The road hither led us through a continuation of the forest which we entered yesterday, and was romantic in the extreme. Here and there

* This class of men is gradually becoming extinct since the establishment of a bi-monthly post from the capital to the eastern provinces of the empire. In former times they were the confidential couriers of the Porte and of the different Pashas who employed them, and who from them obtained their principal information of the intrigues which were working at the capital and at the distant pashalics.

were patches of tilled ground which had been cleared by the industry of the peasants, whose isolated cottages, perched high up above the valleys, gave a picturesque and lively appearance to the whole.

After resting an hour at Cavak, we pursued our journey over a plain, tolerably cultivated, and then entered again upon a hilly district, with less wood than that which we passed yesterday. At half-past 3 P.M. we reached Ladik, romantically situated at the foot of a range of high hills covered with verdure. Here we were lodged in the house of an Armenian, and fared much better than we did at Chakal-kieui. There are fifteen Armenian families at this place, with a church and priest: the Mohammedan population is reckoned at two thousand souls. Ladik, a name given by the Turks to several other towns in Asia Minor, which were called Laodicea, bespeaks for it an ancient origin; and this conjecture is confirmed by a few relics of ancient architecture still extant, among which is an octagonal building with Doric columns, supposed by Ainsworth to be the ruins of a Greek church. The modern town contains two large and well-built mosques, about twenty smaller ones, and two convents of Derwishes. The minarets of the mosques, rising above the thick trees, reminded us at a distance of some of the village spires of our native land. Would that they were Christian temples!

Most of the Mohammedans here wear the green turban, a sign of their relationship to the arch-impostor, and their being a privileged race accounts for the tolerable degree of comfort and security which seemed to reign throughout the place. The houses are better built, and the streets more cleanly and regular, than in any of the villages which we passed through on our journey. This evening being the first of the *Ramadhân* fast, we were disturbed throughout the night by the frantic howling and whirling of the Derwishes in a large mosque close by our lodgings.

Oct. 5th.—Left Ladik at 7 A.M. For three hours our road lay over the same hilly country, where we met two foot guards placed here for the protection of travellers. Whether true or false, they strove to persuade us that banditti had been seen

lurking in the wood, and that it was necessary that they should escort us through the hills; a *baksheesh* being more the object of their anxiety than our safety. Until 1 P.M. when we reached the narrow and winding valley of Amâsia, our route lay over an uninteresting and uninhabited tract of country, with an extensive wild of sand on our right. On entering the valley we crossed one of the principal tributaries of the Yeshil Irmak, or ancient Iris, which joins that river about sixty miles to the east. This stream flows through the gorge, which is well cultivated, and abounds in vines, mulberry, and other orchard trees, especially the apple, the fruit of which is reckoned superior to any in Asia Minor. After journeying for three hours through a continued garden, artificially watered by numerous irrigating machines, which are turned by the force of the current, we came in sight of the town, situated on the eastern bank of the river, and hemmed in by lofty precipices. Here the bed of the river is about sixty yards wide, and is spanned by three bridges, two of wood and one of stone, the latter built entirely of the remains of ancient Amasea. Many other relics are still to be seen about the streets, but none worthy of particular notice. The mountain opposite the town rises to the height of five hundred feet, and forms an impregnable rampart along its whole extent. On a projecting peak of this natural barrier are the ruins of an extensive castle, the colossal walls of which are carried over precipices seemingly inaccessible. At sunset the sound of fife and drum announced to a few soldiers, who garrison a small barrack of modern construction within the citadel, that the hour of feasting after fasting had arrived.

Below the castle, on the perpendicular sides of the mountain, are many sepulchral grots, supposed by some to be the tombs of the kings of Pontus, whilst others have referred their original construction to the Zoroastrians of Persia, to which monarchy Amâsia belonged, and formed the capital of the third satrapdom as far back as three hundred years before CHRIST. The several Greek inscriptions which are to be found over these tombs, but which are so defaced by time as to be illegible, may have been added in after ages by some of those states which took possession of Amâsia after the destruction of the Persian dynasty by

Alexander. The following is a correct sketch of one of the principal tombs, which I take the liberty of copying from Ainsworth.

Strabo, who as is well known was born at Amasea, has left us a faithful description of that city. The natural features of the place remain as they were when he wrote, but the splendid monuments of art which once ornamented his native town have long since disappeared. A French writer suggests the following as a principal cause of this destruction: "To say nothing of the ravages of war and barbarism, there is another species of devastation which goes on from day to day, owing to the general custom prevalent in Anatolia, of constructing the houses with flat mud roofs, which serve as yard, garden, and sleeping apartment, to the inhabitants during the hot season. These being split into a thousand cracks from exposure to the sun, would serve as a poor protection against the rains of winter, if the occupiers did not take the precaution of constantlyrolling them with a large cylinder, which unfortunately is not taken from the quarry, but from the ancient edifices and tombs. If we calculate that Amâsia contains about six thousand of these terraces, and that each terrace has its roller, it is easy to conceive what ruin this cause alone has wrought."

Amâsia is governed by a *Mutsellim*, or deputy governor, appointed by the pasha of Siwâs, to which pashalic it belongs, and may be reckoned one of the most flourishing towns in this

district. It contains two large and well-built mosques, besides many smaller ones, the bulk of the population being Mohammedan. The Armenians at Amâsia number five hundred families, who possess three churches, and are under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Tocât,[6] the person at present filling that See being a deposed Patriarch. There are also fifteen families of the Greek rite at Amâsia, who have a church, a priest, and a school. These know no other language than Turkish, which is spoken by all the Christians in this district. I was told that there were three villages in the vicinity inhabited entirely by members of the same community, who as well as those of Amâsia belong to the diocese of Sinope.[7]

The Mutsellim gave us a lodging in a house annexed to one of the Armenian churches, where we were kindly entertained. In one of the lower rooms was a school in which upwards of sixty boys were assembled. On the master's table I observed a number of books and tracts in Armenian and Armeno-Turkish from the press of the American Independents at Smyrna, which had been sent to Mr. Krug, a Swiss mercantile agent, and the only European in Amâsia, to be distributed among the people. On inquiry, I found that the introduction of these works had not received the sanction of the Bishop. The master's idea was, as it was the idea of the three Armenian priests who called upon me, that they contained the teaching of the English Church, and it was some time before I could convince them to the contrary.

In the evening we had a visit from Mr. Krug, accompanied by Yakoob Nuah Oghloo, a young Latin Armenian, and the son of a rich Baghdad merchant, who resides here for the purposes of trade. We received much courtesy and kindness from these gentlemen, which was the more to be appreciated as being shown to perfect strangers. The conversation soon turned upon Church matters, in which both appeared to be alike interested. The young Armenian was strongly prejudiced against the English, because, as he said, they denied the efficacy of the Sacraments, had no Bishops and consequently no valid orders, paid no reverence to saints, despised all pictures, even the emblem of the cross, observed no festivals or fasts; and several other cus-

toms and practices he enumerated which no more applied to us than they did to his own communion. I saw at once that he was confounding us with the Independents, some of whose tracts he had read, and that he had no idea of any other English Church than that which he himself had described. Fortunately he read modern Greek remarkably well, and taking out the only copy of our book of Common Prayer in that language which I possessed,—one of the last edition printed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,—I succeeded in proving to him the existence of a Church in England with doctrines, rites, and ceremonies, different from those which he had attributed to her. The youth was delighted in the extreme, and begged so hard for the Greek copy of our ritual that I presented it to him. The distribution of our Prayer Book in the Eastern language is an excellent means of making the native Christians better acquainted with our Church.

Our interview lasted till midnight, but our kind visitors did not suffer us to depart on the morrow without sending us a token of their remembrance in a present of excellent apples and several loaves of Frank bread.

The principal product of Amâsia is silk, of which six hundred bales are annually exported to Europe.

Oct. 6th.—We started from Amâsia at 7 A.M., and continued our journey through the well-cultivated valley, at some distance from the river. When about one hour from the town our muleteers pointed out to us a small ruined building, beneath which he said was a spring of water, believed by the Greeks to have gushed forth miraculously when the corpse of S. Chrysostom was laid upon the spot, as it was being borne in triumph to Constantinople from Comana Pontica, the place of his exile and death.

After leaving the valley, our road lay over uncultivated plains bounded by low hills, sometimes barren and sometimes scantily covered with furze. At 1 P.M., we put up at the Mohammedan village of Ina Bazaar, containing about thirty mud huts and a small mosque. Here we were lodged in the *Konagh*, or house which the villagers in these districts provide for the accommodation of government officials, or for other travellers, in order not to be subjected to the inconvenience and impositions with

which the former never fail to vex them. In this instance the *Konagh* consisted of an open room with three walls and a roof; and another of smaller dimensions which we shared with our horses and mules.

Oct. 7th.—Left Ina Bazaar at 6 A.M., and travelled over a tolerably level road between low hills scantily covered with wood. In three hours we reached a *Derbend*, or guard-house, where we rested until our baggage came up. These *Derbends* are stationed by the pashas of the different provinces in such parts of the road as are considered unsafe, and are garrisoned by from six to ten men. They are for the most part wretched hovels, and the guards themselves equally miserable, being generally irregular soldiers who occasionally receive arms and clothing from the government, but little or no pay. For this they chiefly depend upon the presents which they exact from caravans and travellers who may require their services, and very frequently from those who do not.

Half an hour after leaving the *Derbend* our road lay for some time along the bed of the Gooroo Soo, a tributary of the Iris, now dry, but in spring a stream thirty yards wide. At half-past 10 we reached another branch of the same river, known anciently as the Scylax, which flows through the plain in which the large village of Toorkhal is situated, and which we reached about noon. Toorkhal contains upwards of 500 Moslem families, two mosques, and a bath, built chiefly of mud. The river flows two hours from the village, but a stream therefrom runs close by, and serves to water the fields in the vicinity by means of irrigating machines, such as are used at Amâsia. Behind the village are the ruins of a castle, apparently of modern construction, though the foundation may be of older date, as Toorkhal seems to occupy the site of the ancient Sebastopolis.

Oct. 8th.—Left Toorkhal at half-past 3 A.M., and travelled with our baggage mules, so that we did not reach Tocât till 1 P.M. The road lay for the most part through an extensive valley between two ranges of hills, those to the right being tolerably covered with wood, those to the left barren and only cultivated near the base and at long intervals. A few miles to our right flowed the river, on the banks of which were several

villages. Three hours before entering Tocât we journeyed through the pleasant orchards for which this town is justly celebrated. The town itself covers the bases of three hills which unite towards its centre. The houses are well built, the streets clean and regular, and the bazaar spacious and well supplied with merchandize. A branch of the Iris flows through the town and waters the picturesque vineyards and gardens which fill up the environs. The grapes and pears of Tocât are considered superior to any in this part of the country, but from some opposite property, supposed to exist in the atmosphere, the inhabitants are obliged to send their grapes to Siwâs to be made into wine, as that prepared by themselves is of a very inferior quality.

Tocât was formerly one of the great centres of Asiatic commerce, but since the establishment of steam communication between Constantinople and the shores of the Black Sea, Trebizond and Erzeroom have become the principal caravan route to the Persian and other eastern markets. Some years back it possessed many large calico printing manufactories, but these have well nigh disappeared, the owners here, as in other towns of Turkey, having found it impossible to compete with the cheapness and superiority of British exports, the produce chiefly of our Manchester and Liverpool machinery. The principal trade of the place at the present day is in copper utensils, wrought out of the metal brought from Arghana Maaden in the Taurus, and from hence sent to every part of the empire. I met here an Austrian engineer who was engaged in putting up a machine for purifying the copper ore which was to be worked by the water of the river. The only other Frank at Tocât was a young man from Trieste, who acted as agent to an extensive company established in Austria for trading in leeches. This gentleman informed me that the natives caught them by entering into the pools and streams, having their legs covered with felt stockings to which the leeches adhered, and were thus easily secured.

Tocât is governed by a *Moohassel*, or collector, appointed by the pasha of Siwâs, who ordered us a lodging at the residence of the Papal Armenian Bishop. The Bishop being absent, we

were welcomed by two priests, who had been educated at the Papal Armenian convent in Mount Lebanon, and afterwards went to the Propaganda at Rome. Connected with the episcopal residence is a neat church, large enough to contain six hundred people, which has been built within the last four years, partly by subscriptions raised in this country, but chiefly by contributions from France and Rome. The necessary firman for erecting the church was obtained, it is said, gratuitously; and the same imperial sanction has lately been accorded to the Romanists to erect several new churches in Baghdad, Urfah, and other towns of the empire. This concession on the part of the Turks is in direct contravention of a Mohammedan law, which prohibits the building of any new Christian temples, and only allows the repairing of such as existed at the time of the Mohammedan conquest. This fact also serves to show the great influence exercised by France in behalf of the Latin missions in the east; for while such privileges were being granted to her protégés by the Porte, it refused permission to us, chiefly upon the ground of the law alluded to, to erect a church at Jerusalem. There is reason to believe that such favouritism having become known, the British government finally insisted upon the concession which they had so long solicited in vain.

And this sort of indulgence, which France has demanded and obtained from the Porte, has not been the least cause of the success of the Roman missions in Turkey. I have myself met with numerous instances of village churches belonging to the Jacobites and Nestorians, which were going to ruin, and the people obliged to worship in a private house, because the provincial authorities prevented their restoration unless the necessary firman was first obtained. To procure this a large sum is always demanded, which they were unable to pay; whilst the dissenters to Rome, by applying through their Bishop or Patriarch to the nearest French consul, or to the French ambassador at Constantinople, obtained the requisite sanction without any trouble or delay. It is chiefly in respect of such concessions that Monsieur Boré thus writes: "Les Catholiques n'auraient pas obtenu leur émancipation, si la Porte, affaiblie

par la perte de la Grece, rendue à la liberté, et par ses dernières guerres avec la Russie, n'avait craint de s'opposer aux vives réclamations de la France."

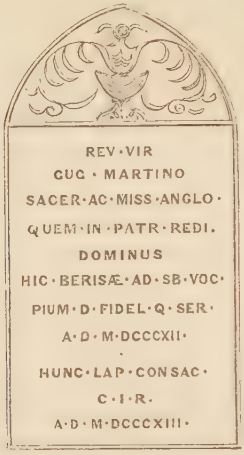
The bulk of the population of Tocât is Moslem; the Papal Armenians number 150, and the Armenians 2,000 families, with seven churches and two monasteries in the vicinity of the town. The Greeks are estimated at 1,000 souls, with one church and three priests included within the diocese of the Bishop of Neo-Cesarea.

Oct. 9th.—This being the LORD's day, we went in the afternoon to the Greek church, which was opened for us by one of the three nuns who occupy an adjoining house. Having brought our Bibles and Prayer Books, we read together the Evening Service for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity. No sooner did the old clerk perceive that we were performing our devotions, than he lighted two candles and placed them before the altar screen. The service ended, we had an opportunity of explaining to a number of persons who had assembled as spectators, whence we were, and the order of the prayers which we had been offering.

On leaving the church, we engaged the services of an Armenian priest to show us the grave of Henry Martyn, who closed his pious labours at Tocât in the year 1812. It was a singular coincidence that we should have lighted upon the very individual who had performed over his remains the rites of Christian burial. After straying for some time among the tombs of a large cemetery, he pointed out to us a small marble slab, which covers the resting-place of this devoted missionary. I recalled to mind upon the spot the fervent zeal and ardent piety of the departed, and lifted up a secret prayer that GOD in His mercy would raise up many of a like spirit to labour among the benighted Mohammedans of the east. Amidst all the invidious detractions of the Jesuit, Mons. Boré is reluctantly obliged to record this testimony of our departed brother: "Il était ami du bien, et du ceux qui l'aiment. Il dêsirait redresser les vices deshommes et les rendre heureux."

The following is a transcript of the stone and epitaph raised, as the concluding initials inform us, by the piety of Mr. Rich, the then British resident at Baghdad. By some inadvertence

the name "William" has been substituted for that of "Henry" in the inscription.



Whilst we mused over this spot, which must ever be hallowed in the heart of every true member of the Church, Mrs. Badger sought out and planted a row of wild flowers round the tomb. Long may their shadow and perfume deck the grave of this departed follower of CHRIST!

On leaving the place, I put into the hand of the priest a small present for his trouble, whereupon taking off his turban, and standing at the head of the grave, he offered up a devout prayer for the rest of the soul departed, that with patience and resignation he might wait for and attain perfect consummation and bliss in body and soul in eternal and everlasting glory, at the great day of final retribution.

Tocât, which the Armenians call Evtogia, probably derives its name from the Empress Eudocia, and is situated on the Iris, about six miles from Comana Pontica, with which Ainsworth confounds it. Of this latter city which, like the Comana of Cappadocia, was once so renowned for its heathen hierarchy and its impure Pagan rites, scarcely any thing remains but a good stone bridge, to which the Turks have added an arch composed of fragments of pillars, and other relics of ancient art. It is not improbable, that when the site of the city was changed, the

remains of Comana served as materials for the erection of the new city of Eudocia. Several mutilated Latin inscriptions are to be found in the modern Tocât, especially near the citadel, the foundations of which are probably coeval with the first building of the town.

There are a few Jewish families at Tocât, with a small synagogue. They are for the most part pedlars and petty traders, and appear to be very poor.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Tocât.—Guard-house in the mountains.—Siwâs, its ancient history, present trade, and population.—Pass of the Two Brothers.—How to secure a good wife.—Hekim Khan.—Subterranean church.—Kabban Maaden and its silver mines.—Entrance of a pasha into Kharpoot.—Insolence and oppression of the provincial governors.—The Geoljik lake.—Grandeur of the Taurus.—Arghana Maaden and its copper mines.—Arghana.—Ragged escort to a Coordish encampment.—An unprejudiced Mohammedan.—Arrival at Diarbekir.

Oct. 10*th.*—We left Tocât at 8 A.M., accompanied by two guards sent with us by the governor, and travelled over a wild and rugged district until we reached a *Derbend* called Coord Beli. It snowed much all the morning, and our journey was rendered more difficult because Mrs. Badger and I had taken the winter in preference to the summer road, the former being the shorter of the two. We reached the *Derbend,* which is situated in a mountain pass, at 11 A.M., where we alighted to await the remainder of our party. Here we were welcomed by the guards, who put fresh fuel to the fire round which they were seated, and then busied themselves in drying our cloaks, which were thoroughly wet. The Tatar, who had a good appetite and seldom forgot to carry with him a supply of provisions, had brought a leg of mutton from Tocât slung to his saddle. This was soon artistically cut up, the ramrod of a musket served as a spit, and in a short time we were regaled with a good luncheon of *cabáb,* and a draught of sour milk, which the guards kept preserved in a bladder, and which when diluted forms an agreeable beverage. The hut was built of logs and mud, and was furnished with a couple of rough stone divans, several pieces of old carpeting, a few cooking utensils, and a bed quilt or two. The room itself was not more than twelve feet square, and yet

six guards, two large Coordish dogs, and a sheep, seemed to find a comfortable shelter under its roof. The walls were hung with matchlocks, swords, pistols, and other weapons of defence, and the novelty of the scene as well as the good humour and cheerful songs of the weather-beaten soldiers soon made us forget the fatigue of our morning ride.

We left the *Derbend* at 1 P.M., and in two hours came in sight of the lofty Yulduz Dagh, or Mountain of the Star, which rises like an immense pyramid from the surrounding plain. The heavy clouds which were being fast drifted by the wind occasionally hid its snowy summit from our view, and then ever and anon sparkled gloriously in the rays of the sun, which shone forth from an expansive field of blue. Yulduz Dagh is within a few miles of the large Mohammedan village of Ghirkhen, which we reached at 5 P.M.

Oct. 10*th.*—Our road from Ghirkhen, from whence we started at half-past 6 A.M., lay over a high table land, which stretches almost to the entering of Siwâs. The only object of interest in a long nine hours' ride was a copious spring, six inches in diameter, which literally gushed out of the soil into an adjoining stream. The country around was only partly cultivated, and though we saw some villages in the distance, a solitary *Derbend* was the only human habitation in the direct road.

The entry to Siwâs we found dirty in the extreme, arising chiefly from the narrowness of the streets and the numerous streams which flow through the environs. A good wall and two citadels built, as an existing inscription informs us, by Aboo'l Fettah, A.H. 621, and rebuilt by order of Sultan Mohammed, the son of Moorad Khan, in the year 861 of the same era, once surrounded the town, but like the town itself are at present in a most dilapidated condition. The pasha of the province, who resides here, allotted us a lodging in the house of a respectable Armenian, who received us kindly, gave us a good supper, and gladly chatted with us about the affairs of his church and people till near midnight.

Cabira, the treasure city of Mithridates, and the ancient name of Siwâs, was first changed by Pompey into Diopolis, and afterwards into Sebastia, from whence the modern appellation is derived. At the time of Justinian it became the capital of

Lesser Armenia, but in 1080 it reverted to the Byzantine empire, from which it was shortly after taken by the Seljukians. It finally fell into the power of the Osmanlis under Mohammed I., who wrested it from the Turcomans in 1415.

One-fourth of the population of Siwâs consists of Armenians, who number here 1050 families, with three churches, several priests, and a bishop. The Papal Armenians do not amount to more than fifty persons, and hold their services in a private house. The Greeks, who reckon but twenty families, have a small church and a priest.

Siwâs is renowned for its excellent honey. Its chief export is wool, which is also manufactured here into hose, gloves, &c., and sent to all parts of the empire.

Oct. 12th.—Accompanied by six mounted guards we left Siwâs, at 8 A.M., and in one hour crossed the broad bed of the Kizzil Irmak, the ancient Halys, over a bridge of eighteen arches. The road now led over a continuation of the same high table land that we had traversed yesterday, and at half-past 10 A.M. we reached a pass in the hills called Teifté Kardash, or the Couple of Brothers, consisting of two narrow pathways separated by a mass of rock, and which, according to tradition, derives its name from two brothers having crossed without meeting, whilst one was on his way from Constantinople to visit his brother, and the other journeying from Baghdad to the capital for the same purpose. In a valley beyond this is a salt spring, from which large quantities of salt are procured during the summer season by evaporation. After travelling over an uninteresting route for five hours and a half we reached the village of Oolash, containing about sixty Armenian families, engaged principally as agriculturists and shepherds. The mud hovels of these Christians were dirty and comfortless, and the poor and oppressed people themselves seemed equally miserable. There are three priests and a small church in the village, and I was informed that an American Independent missionary, who had preceded me by a few days on his way to Mosul, had distributed numerous tracts among the villagers.

Oct. 13th.—Started from Oolash at 6 A.M., and in four hours reached Delikli Tash, or the Riven Rock, inhabited entirely by Moslems, where we changed horses and guards. The place

derives its name from an adjacent cliff containing two natural apertures, through which the superstitious villagers believe it impossible for a criminal to pass, and that if any one succeeds in entering in at one and coming out at the other he is sure to obtain a good wife when he is in need of one.

After resting an hour we travelled over a wild and barren country, and at 3 P.M. put up at Kangal, a village containing twelve Armenian and twenty Mussulman families. The former have lately rebuilt their little church, and invited a priest from a large monastery about four hours distant to reside among them. On account of the heavy falls of snow in this district the houses are built very low and partly under ground. They generally consist of one room, which is shared by the villagers and their cattle. The poor people willingly resigned to us their portion of the apartment, but as they could not dislodge their animals we had to pass the night in close contact with sheep, goats, mules, and asses.

Oct. 14*th.*—After going six hours over a barren country we reached the miserable Mohammedan village of Alaja Khan, the limit of the pashalic of Siwâs. The day after we traversed a district called Soofoolalloo, cultivated by Kizil-bash Turcomans, the followers of Hussim, and in seven hours reached Hasan Tcelebi, where we put up for the night. Wishing rather to spend Sunday among Christians than among Mussulmans, we left the latter place very early in the morning, and in four hours came to Hekim Khan. To our great disappointment we heard that most of the Christians had been obliged to quit the village on account of the continued tyranny and oppression of their Mohammedan neighbours. Only twelve out of forty Armenian families now remained in the place, and their abject condition bespoke the harsh treatment which they had received from their infidel masters. Poor people! they looked up to us with hopeful interest, and entreated that we would do something to relieve their misery.

Towards the evening, we visited their little church: it was such a place as we may imagine the early Christians to have worshipped in, when they were obliged to resort to caves and dens of the earth, to conceal their persons and sacred rites from the fury of their heathen persecutors. Like the rest of the

buildings, it was partly under ground; and receiving no light from without, we were obliged to crawl through a narrow passage, which led into the interior, with tapers in our hands. The body of the church was about eighteen feet square, and seven feet high, the roof was supported by four upright beams, a few rough boards separated the sacrarium from the nave, on each side of the altar hung a tolerable painting, and in a corner was a chest containing the shattered remains of their rituals. One priest continues faithful to his flock, and it was a touching spectacle to see how the poor people loved and revered him. To my great surprise all the children were able to read, and I heard from them that the missionary already alluded to had left them a few tracts when he passed through their village. The priest offered to sell me several Roman coins which he had picked up in the vicinity, and he literally wept as he parted with his little treasure. The villagers being unable to support him, he is obliged to work in the fields like a common labourer. He informed me that Hekim Khan was within the diocese of the Armenian Bishop of Cesarea, who has a Chorepiscopos at Malatiyah.

The Mohammedans here have a mosque, and I was informed, that over the gateway of what served now as a khan, there was a long Greek inscription.

Oct. 17th.—Eleven hours' travelling brought us to the Moslem village of Tahir-kieui, and it took us about the same time to reach Kabban Maaden on the following day. For the sake of brevity, as well as not to weary the reader with such like repetitions, I must refer him to the map for the general features of the country over which we passed. Before reaching the town, we crossed the Euphrates, which at this place is about one hundred yards wide, in large open boats resembling in form a huge slipper. Into these our horses and mules entered without any ado, and in a few minutes, we were all comfortably lodged in the house of a respectable Armenian.

Kabban Maaden appears to be in a very flourishing condition, and we remarked that the Christians here did not complain of oppression. The town contains twenty families of the Greek rite, with two churches and a Bishop, besides a monastery in the vicinity. The Armenians, who are under the Bishop

of Siwâs number four hundred families and possess two churches.

We paid a visit to the smelting furnaces, of which there are two in the town, one worked by Greeks, which produces daily ten pounds of mixed metal, and the other by Germans and Hungarians, which produces double that quantity. The silver is separated from the lead at a different furnace, worked exclusively by natives, and from this is forwarded to the capital. The whole business is under the superintendence of a Frank overseer.

Oct. 19*th.*—Six hours after leaving Kabban Maaden, we reached the Armenian village of Arpaoot, where we had hoped to remain for the night; but finding that a troop of Albanians had been quartered upon the poor Christians for the last fifteen days, and were still eating up their scanty provisions like a flight of locusts, we continued our journey for an hour longer, and put up at the Mohammedan village of Pelté. Here we had some difficulty in obtaining a lodging in a filthy hut from which we were driven by swarms of vermin, so we finally spread our carpets for the night under an open shed.

Oct. 20*th.*—Three hours after leaving Pelté we reached Mezraa, where we were obliged to halt in order to change horses. On our way, we passed the large village of Koolverk, near which is a monastery, both inhabited by Armenians. The pretty plain in which Mezraa is situated reminded us of some country places in our native land; but how different is the condition of the villagers who inhabit those little dwellings, from which the curling smoke is ascending towards an azure sky, and whose labour it is that renders the scene around so gay and beautiful, from the husbandmen of happy England! The heart sickens at the contrast, which only those can enter into who have witnessed the baneful effects of a despotic and infidel government.

Mezraa is situated on the plain immediately below the large town of Kharpoot, which stands upon a rocky hill about two miles distant, and is the residence of a Jacobite Bishop, whose diocese joins that of Urfah, and includes five hundred Syrian families.

Whilst resting at the post-house, we witnessed the entry of a new Pasha into Kharpoot. The number of officials of all ranks from the towns and villages, the large assembly of Coordish

chiefs, Moollahs, and Oolema ; as well as the immense crowd of merchants and tradesmen who had met together, clad in their gaudy oriental apparel, to greet the new comer, made the spectacle at once gay and attractive. A troop of Albanians in their rich dresses, and a company of Turkish infantry were drawn up to salute his Excellency as he passed, whilst two cannon kept up a constant fire in honour of the event. But amidst all this pageantry, one could not help reflecting how much misery this new appointment had already occasioned, and how much it was still destined to occasion to the unfortunate subjects. At whatever town or village a Pasha and his suite, (in this instance it consisted of three hundred mounted followers), put up during their journey, the poor inhabitants are obliged to supply all their wants gratuitously, and not unfrequently get abuse and stripes into the bargain. This is the third appointment to the pashalic of Kharpoot during the current year ; and as every new governor generally attains to office by a large bribe, he naturally seeks to make good his advance with interest during his uncertain continuance in office ; and to come at this, the poor subjects are ground to the dust by the fresh exactions of each succeeding tyrant who is sent to rule over them. They may talk of the Hatti Shereef, that vain chapter of privileges, in London or Paris, and praise the toleration and justice which it awards to all classes of the Sultan's subjects ; but beyond the immediate eye of the ambassadors, this far-famed Magna Charta is no better than a mockery.

Four hours after leaving Mezraa, we reached the small Mohammedan town of Moollah-kieui, where we found it difficult to obtain shelter, as every house was occupied by Albanian troops.

Oct. 21*st.*—Left Moollah-kieui at 4 A.M., and after ascending the rugged hills beyond, we came in sight of the Geoljik Barmaz Ovasi lake, just as the sun rose from behind the mighty Taurus, shedding a grandeur over the mountain scene which no language can adequately describe. The lake, which appeared to be about twelve miles long and five wide, is hemmed in by gigantic rocks, and presents the appearance of a huge basin. After crossing its northern extremity, we entered the Anti-Taurus, and having forded one of the sources of the Tigris, we

rested awhile at a khan, before beginning the most fatiguing part of our journey, which still lay before us.

We then began the ascent of the Taurus, winding our way now through valleys, and now over the sloping sides of precipices, in continual danger of being precipitated from the narrow foot-path into the deep gorges below. The mountains here as well as for miles around are almost barren, having been stripped of their wood to supply fuel for the mines at Arghana Maaden; but still the scenery is grand and even beautiful, and the traveller can hardly help feeling as he traverses these majestic heights, how insignificant man is, and how infinite must be the power of Him Who created these gigantic masses of earth, enriched them with never ending stores of wealth, fashioned them at His pleasure, and fixed them so that they cannot be moved by a power less than almighty.

On reaching the summit of the Taurus, we commenced the difficult descent to Arghana Maaden, a small town situated on two sides of a deep gorge, and so shut in by the encompassing hills that our entrance into it was as sudden as it was welcome. We had travelled for thirteen hours over a toilsome road in heat and cold, and Mrs. Badger, who had hitherto borne up against fatigue, fainted as soon as she left the saddle.

There are at Arghana Maaden 150 Moslem, 200 Greek, and 190 Armenian families. The Greeks have a church, four priests, and a school in the town, which is the only place on our road where we found this people speak their own native language; those we had met with hitherto spoke Turkish, which they write in Greek characters. They are reckoned within the diocese of Kabban Maaden. The Armenians, who also have a church here, are under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Arabkir.[8] As might have been expected, they knew nothing of the English Church, and had only heard of us as being Lutherans.

Most of the inhabitants of the place are engaged in working the copper mines in the vicinity, which are generally let by government to a company of native merchants, who are supplied with fuel, and receive ten twelfths of a penny for every pound of metal which they remit to the refiners at Tocât. There being scarcely any wood left in the vicinity, the poor Coords are obliged to bring it from a distance of seven days' journey for a

mere trifle. No less than nine furnaces are kept constantly at work, which produce from 2,800 lbs. to 3,000 lbs. of metal in twenty-four hours.

Excellent wine is made here from the grapes which grow almost wild in the mountains around.

Oct. 22nd.—We left Arghana Maaden at 6 A.M., and after travelling about five miles crossed another tributary of the Tigris over a good bridge. In three hours we reached Arghana, situated on the sides and summit of a high hill, and inhabited by 400 Armenian and 200 Mohammedan families. There are two churches in the town, and a large monastery built upon a craggy eminence, and commanding an extensive view of the wide plain which stretches to the south so far as the eye can reach. Our guard from the mines was here exchanged for two of the most miserable apologies for soldiers that can be imagined. One was armed with an old rusty sword without a scabbard, and the other carried a musket, but no ammunition. The poor fellows, who were almost naked, had evidently been pressed into our service from the streets; but they trudged on cheerily, keeping up with our horses for five long hours over an arid waste, till at 4 P.M. they delivered over their charge in safety to Bektash Agha, the chief of a branch of the Omeryân Coords, who with about one hundred followers was encamped in the plain. The Agha received us kindly, and ordered one division of his large tent to be prepared for our reception. We had scarcely seated ourselves when Osman Pasha, with about thirty Turkish horsemen, arrived on his way to greet the new pasha of Kharpoot. These gentry soon made themselves at home, ordered forage for their horses, and sat down to devour the repast which the Coords had prepared for themselves. Osman Pasha was accommodated in a division of the tent adjoining ours, and hearing that an English traveller was his near neighbour, he begged me to dine with him. He sat in the tent with his watch in hand, now looking towards the west, then at the dial-plate, anxiously awaiting the legal hour to break the fast of Ramadhân. He then set to in good earnest, and after going through his ablutions begged that I would amuse myself until he had performed his devotions. A lesson this worthy the imitation of Christians.

Whilst my host was dilating on his attachment to the Franks, and especially to the English, a flock of geese approached within a few yards of us, and set up a most dinning cackling. "Do you hear those birds?" said my unprejudiced companion: "such are the notes of the unbelievers in hell."

Oct. 23*rd.*—Five hours' ride from the encampment over the same plain which we had crossed yesterday, brought us to the gates of Diarbekir, where we were quartered by the governor in the house of a papal Syrian who bade us welcome, and hospitably entertained us during our short stay.

CHAPTER IV.

Diarbekir, the ancient Amida.—Ruins of an old church.—Greek and Latin inscriptions.—Description of Diarbekir.—Trade and population.—Armenians and their churches.—Papal Armenians.—Greeks.—Chaldeans.—Jacobites.—A novel painting.—Papal Syrians.—A Capuchin's complaint of intolerance.—Female costume.—Character of the people.

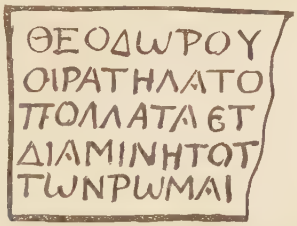
Instead of dividing the items of information which I collected at Diarbekir during this and two succeeding visits, I shall sum up the whole in the present chapter, and shall endeavour to lay it before the reader in as interesting a form as possible.

Diarbekir, the ancient Amida, and still known to the Turks as Kara Amid, or Black Amida, on account of the colour of the basaltic rock in the vicinity from which the town is built, stands on the western bank of the Tigris and on the extreme border of Asia Minor. It does not appear to be mentioned in history before the fourth century of our era, when according to the Syriac chronicle of Edessa, as given by Assemanni, it was enlarged by the emperor Constantius, A.D. 349. During the numerous and protracted wars between the Romans and Persians, it became a place of considerable importance, the possession of which was several times warmly contested by the two rival powers who successively lost and regained it.

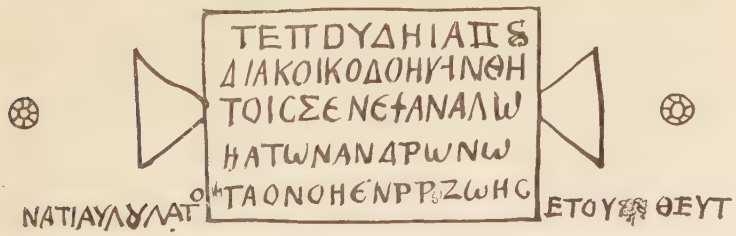
The principal relic of ancient art extant at Diarbekir is near the Great Mosque, to which it now forms a court, and is supposed to have been a Christian Church. It consists of an open area measuring 230 ft. by 115 ft., the eastern, western, and part of the northern walls of which are still standing. Along these is a double row of Corinthian pillars, one above the other, the lower measuring 18 ft. and the upper 10 ft. in height, both surmounted with rich friezes, upon which some fine ornamental Cufic inscriptions have been engraved. In the eastern wall, which appears to have served as the screen, is a fine Grecian

arch; but no traces of the sanctuary remain; the part which it probably once occupied now forms a wing of the bazaar. In the western wall there is a similar arch occupying the place of the principal entrance. The northern wall of the modern mosque was most likely the southern wall of the church; but, if so, it has been plastered and filled up in order to correspond with the general character of the mosque, which is a plain building, with a sloping roof, and a square tower which tradition affirms to have been once a belfry.

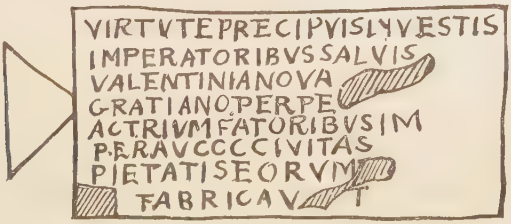
Near the northern gate, called Bâb-ool-Jebel, we discovered the following fragment built into the wall upside down, a clear proof that it does not occupy its original position.



Higher up, on the same side of the gate, is another inscription which is not in so good a state of preservation. It is as follows:



The next is a Latin entablature which has been partially destroyed by a cannon-ball, and records the names of the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.



Besides the above there are some fine specimens of Cufic inscriptions, and several rude figures of birds and lions engraved upon the city walls. Numerous fragments of pillars of black basalt, especially capitals, are also to be found in every street of the town. These are of the same material as well as order with those so common in the north of Syria, especially about Aleppo and Mumbej, the ancient Hierapolis.

The modern town, which is about four miles in circumference, is of a circular form, and is surrounded with a good wall fortified by several hundred turrets. In this are four gates facing the cardinal points of the compass, viz., Bâb-ool-Jebel, Bâb-Mardeen, Bâb-ool-Jedeed, and Bâb-oor-Room. The environs on the northern and western sides are covered with graves, to the east flows the Tigris, and on the south are some extensive and pleasant gardens. Many of the houses are well built, and some of the entrances to the numerous mosques are fine specimens of elaborate Saracenic architecture. There is also a large Khan in the city, known as Hasan Pasha's, and now formed into a barrack for the troops. The khan is constructed of alternate layers of rectangular blocks of white and black stone, and is deservedly admired for its size and the symmetry of its parts. Many of the common dwellings, however, are built of rough stone overlaid with mud, and the streets are generally narrow and dirty in the extreme. The citadel and palace are situated to the north-east, and are separated from the rest of the town by a mud wall; the former is nothing more than a heap of rubbish, and the few cannon which defended it seemed totally unfit for use. The enclosure, besides the private residence of the pasha, comprises a mosque, several sumptuous tombs, and the ruins of an ancient church which now serves as a magazine.

The same cause which has turned the current of trade from Tocât has also operated to deprive Diarbekir of much of its former importance as a commercial city; nevertheless it appeared to be in a thriving state. Provisions of all kinds are cheap, and fruit abundant, especially melons, which attain to so large a size that two sometimes form a mule-load. I was not a little surprised during my second visit to see in the bazaar large piles of vegetable rhubarb, which is used here as an acid in cookery. Mrs. Badger could not resist her home associations, and deter-

mined to test its qualities; so a rhubarb pudding was made, and our host was not a little surprised to see us eat it with sugar. The principal export of the place is silk, the cultivation of which has been introduced within the last few years, and is manufactured and sent from hence to all parts of Coordistan.

Turkish and Coordish are the two languages generally spoken by the inhabitants, Arabic being but little known. The population of the place is more than half Moslem, including Turks, Arabs, and Coords; of the Christians I shall speak more in detail.

According to the last census, the Armenians of Diarbekir number 1700 families, with two churches, a Bishop, and thirty priests; there are besides several villages of the same rite in the vicinity of the town. The churches, one of which has been lately rebuilt, are spacious edifices, and connected with each is a school in which 300 children receive regular instruction in ancient and modern Armenian. Bishop Egop being absent, I had a long interview with his archdeacon and with many of the priests, who were anxious to hear of our Church and people. They were surprised to learn that we had bishops in England, and that in other important respects we differed from the Independents.

Until lately the papal Armenians worshipped with the Chaldeans, but they have now built a splendid church. They number about seventy-five families with two resident priests, and their numbers are said to be on the increase.

The Greeks have a small church in the town, consisting of a transept, in which are the tombs of S. Cosmas and S. Damian to whom the church is dedicated, and a semi-circular nave surmounted by a dome. On my first visit there were only fifteen members of this rite left, all the rest, to the number of fifty families, having submitted to Rome. The orthodox Greeks were then left without any spiritual guide, if we except an occasional visit from a priest who came from Kabban Maaden, whilst the Romanists made all haste to secure their ground by taking possession of the church, and by sending a bishop to look after the interests of the new converts. The Greek Patriarch succeeded in reclaiming the church, and I am happy to say that within the last three years, the dissenting bishop and

most of his flock have returned into the bosom of the Greek Church.

The Chaldeans of Diarbekir number 120 families, with a bishop and three priests; there are also a few of the same rite in the adjoining villages of Tcarookhia and Ali Pasha. The old church, which was rebuilt twelve years ago, is enclosed within two courts, (in one of which is the episcopal residence,) and is a good substantial building. Like most of the other churches here, the nave is nearly square, and is divided into three aisles. The sanctuary is separated from the nave by a screen containing three arches, one in front of each of the three altars [that is, the Altar, properly so called, the Prothesis, and the Table in the Diaconicon] generally to be found in the Eastern churches. In the old Armenian church at Diarbekir there are no less than seven altars. A part of the nave is set apart for the female portion of the congregation, who are separated from the men by a partition of lattice-work. In the new Armenian Church more attention has been paid to ecclesiastical architecture. The three entrances, before which is a spacious portico, a deacon informed me were intended to represent the three cardinal virtues, repentance, faith, and obedience; the double row of four pillars, the four evangelists; the twelve lower painted windows, the number of the Apostles; and the twenty-four upper windows, the Prophets. A square railing in front of the principal altar serves for a sanctuary, and the font is generally placed near the prothesis.

We interchanged visits with Mutran Botros, the Chaldean Bishop, who was very polite to us, and readily answered all our questions. He is of Nestorian origin, and was sent to Rome when young, and educated at the Propaganda. Like most of the Chaldeans at Diarbekir who are descendants of the old Nestorians, he is a zealous supporter of the papacy, and it was once thought that he would have been raised to the patriarchate instead of Mutran Zeyya of Salamast. On inquiring whether he spoke French, he replied in the negative, giving as a reason that he happened to be at Rome just after Napoleon's retreat, and that the Italians were so prepossessed against anything French, that he was not permitted to study their language. He informed me that the tombs of the Chaldean Patriarchs Joseph

II. III. and V., of whom more will be said hereafter, were in a cemetery without the city walls. Joseph I. and IV. were buried at Rome.

Having received letters from Mutran Behnâm to the Jacobite Syrians, we were hospitably welcomed, and treated with much attention by them during our stay. Mutran Girgis of Kharpoot, as well as all the clergy and principal laymen were invited to meet us at dinner, and to these I had abundant opportunity of explaining the doctrines and discipline of our Church, of which they were profoundly ignorant. They begged us to send them a few copies of our Prayer Book in Arabic, which I afterwards did, as also some other useful works printed by the Church Missionary Society at Malta. They had obtained possession of a polemical treatise written by the American Independents, in which several important doctrines common to us and all the Eastern Churches are impugned, and they were not a little pleased to hear that in these respects there was no difference between themselves and the teaching of our ritual.

We next proceeded to visit their church, which, like all the rest in this city, is situated in an open court into which we passed through a door not more than three feet high. Some say that this narrow entrance is intended to teach humility of mind to such as go to worship; but it is more likely designed to prevent the ingress of horses and other animals into the court-yard. The church, which is dedicated to the blessed Virgin, differs little from those already described. Within the Sanctuary are two thrones for the Patriarch and Bishop, and immediately adjoining the church is a square chapel, dedicated to S. James, in which the baptismal font is placed. Several large paintings, or rather daubs, deface the walls, one of which deserves to be noticed as well on account of the doctrines which it illustrates, as for the novelty of the figures which are introduced into it. The subject was the final judgment, in which an angel is represented as weighing the souls of the departed, whilst Satan in human form, painted black, with a long tail and two horns, is taking down into hell such as are found wanting, amongst whom were two conspicuous figures intended to represent Adam and Eve.[9] In another part of the picture an angel is announcing to the righteous that the Lord has finally prevailed

against the Serpent; and just above the fire are seven small figures which my informant told me typified the state of infants who die unbaptized.

I found the Jacobites here as elsewhere inferior to any of the native communities in general intelligence: their ecclesiastical affairs are very badly administered, and their bishops and priests far behind the clergy of all the other sects. But as I shall have to speak of them more fully hereafter, I shall on the present occasion restrain any further remarks on this subject.

On my second visit to Diarbekir I met with Mutran Abdool-Messiah, generally known to us as Athanasius, who was acquainted with Bishop Heber in India. He had gone over to the Romanists and returned again to his own community, and was then living at one of the Jacobite villages in the vicinity, of which there are several around Diarbekir. When I last passed through the town he had gone to his final home.

Diarbekir is not the seat of a Jacobite Bishop, but is under the immediate control of the Patriarch, who occasionally sends a Bishop to act as his delegate. There are about 250 Jacobite families in the city; the papal Syrians number forty families with two priests, who are under the jurisdiction of Mutran Antoore of Mardeen. The religious services of the latter are conducted in a private house.

Before leaving the city we had a visit from one of the Italian Capuchins, who have a convent here. He complained much of the treatment which he had received from the Armenians at Urfah, whither he had gone to create schisms among them, and where the Latin Monks have at length succeeded, through the influence of France, in building a new monastery. These men, like some other missionaries, seem to deem it a strange and very wicked thing that the native churches should resist the encroachment of Romanism or dissent.

The costume of the females at Diarbekir resembles that of Aleppo, and consists of a tight silk or satin dress, open in front, with long pendent sleeves, which is bound round the waist with a rich girdle. A small red cap, with a long tassel made to hang in front of the left shoulder, and a neat turban fringed with gold braid, over which a gauze handkerchief is lightly thrown, forms the common in-door coiffure. In the streets they go

unveiled, enveloped in a large white or blue sheet, (I can call it by no other name, as my lady readers would not understand the native word *tcertcef*,) which envelops the whole person, and is drawn over the head or face as much as convenience or modesty may dictate. Wide yellow boots form part of the ordinary walking attire, but these are laid aside in the house for neat fantastic slippers, in the choice of which the Eastern dames are as fastidious as the most fashionable belles in Europe.

One word upon the general character of the people of this city. A popular Arabic adage when translated runs thus: "In Diarbekir there are black stones, black dogs, and black hearts." The latter attribute I declare to be set down in malice; for though perhaps less refined and cultivated in their tastes than the natives of Syria and Baghdad, they are equally courteous and hospitable, and happily free from a laxity of morals which I am sorry to say has been introduced into those parts chiefly by Europeans.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Diarbekir.—Coordish complaints of Turkish oppression.—Approach to Mardeen.—Horrible spectacle in the market-place.—Massacre of the Coords.—Town and population of Mardeen.—Description of Deir Zaaferân, the residence of the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch.—Library.—Origin of the convent.—Tradition of the "Woman's Castle."—Instance of Mohammedan bigotry.—Journey through Jebel Toor in 1850.—Killeth.—Midyât.—Ignorance of the Jacobites.—State of the Jacobite Church at Azekh.—Arrival at Jezeerah.—Harsh conduct of the Syrian Patriarch.

Oct. 26*th.*—The pasha having ordered the gates to be opened to us at an early hour, we left Diarbekir at 2 A.M., accompanied by ten horsemen, and after twice crossing the Tigris over two good stone bridges, we pursued our journey through the plain beyond till we reached the Geok Soo. Here the country begins to be hilly, and continues so as far as Mardeen. We rested an hour on the road, and finally put up at the Coordish village of Khaniki Djori at 3 P.M.

We had now fairly entered upon the Coordish district, as nearly all the villages from Diarbekir to Mosul are inhabited by this race. So many and grievous were the complaints of these peasants against the cruelty and oppression of their Turkish rulers, that the stand which they made a few years after under Bedr Khan Beg, the Emeer of Jezeerah, is not a matter of surprise. I frequently inquired why so many of their countrymen became rebels, and they uniformly replied in language to this effect: "What can we do? If we descend into the plains, build us villages, plant vineyards, grow corn and barley, and till the barren soil, we are so overwhelmed with taxation and impositions of every kind, that our labour, though blessed of GOD, is of no profit to ourselves. We continue poor and wretched, and are subjected to the most unheard

of tyranny. Our inability to satisfy the demands of our rapacious masters is looked upon as a crime, and in revenge our villages are razed, our very beds and implements of husbandry are taken fromus, some of our people are murdered, and others are carried away captive. What, then, remains to us? We leave our homes, and seek refuge among our brethren in the mountains who are more out of the way of oppression; but even there we are liable every year to be hunted like partridges. Such is our lot; but *Allah kereem!* God is merciful." The village where we stayed the night is an instance of this tyrannical system: the Turks had already exacted from its forty houses no less than £120, and still demanded £6 more as the amount of their annual taxation. The inhabitants declared that they had not wherewith to pay the additional sum, and on this account many had already left, and others were preparing to leave for the mountains. I am persuaded, that under a righteous government, the Coords might be made an obedient and useful class of subjects, for even at present, were it not for them, this whole district would be a barren waste.

Oct. 27th.—Seven hours' ride through a rough and barren country, brought us to the foot of Mardeen, situated on one of the boldest summits of Mount Masius, the ascent to which, though rugged and difficult, is covered with vineyards and fruit-trees. On approaching the town from this side, nothing is seen but the citadel perched upon the top of the hill, and a part of the wall, the town itself being built upon a slope facing the south, and commands a view of the seemingly boundless plains of Mesopotamia. Ainsworth well describes it in these words: "The prospect from Mardeen is one of the most striking that can be well conceived, not only from the almost infinite extent of cultivated land that lies stretched out at its feet as on a map, from the numerous villages and hillocks with which they are studded, and which dwindle away in the distance to a mere mole-hill, but also from the vast and almost boundless expanse of nearly level ground, unbroken by trees or rivers, and for the most part sinking gradually from sight to the utmost verge of the horizon, where every thing is indistinct, and here, from the great height at which the spectator is placed, so extremely remote."

MARDEEN.

On entering the city walls, we found ourselves amidst a heap of ruins, and it was some time before we could persuade ourselves that the place was not deserted. Preferring to walk through the streets to the house of Agha Moorad, the Armenian banker, who hearing of our arrival had kindly invited us to be his guests, we passed the market-place, where to our horror we saw no less than seven heads, covered with dust, lying upon the ground. On inquiry, I learned that these had been brought in as trophies by Mohammed Pasha's Albanians, from the Omeryân Coords inhabiting Jebel Toor; and the day after I saw a large number of horses, asses, mules, and even cows, laden with all manner of booty taken from the same people, being driven into the town, and amongst these were several

loads of human heads, and a number of prisoners, of whom some were to be impaled on the morrow. It is natural for us to suppose that the crime which called for such cruel vengeance must have been great indeed. It was this: One Rammo, the *Kiahya*, or head of one of the central villages, had received a large sum of money as *Salyân* tax from the district of which he was the collector. Of this Rammo had embezzled more than half, and the pasha, instead of punishing the defaulter, ordered the Coords to make good the balance due. And, because they either could not or would not, a troop of Albanians was sent against them, who plundered all the refractory villages, massacred about 150 persons, and committed other excesses too horrible to be related. The heart sickens as it contemplates such atrocities; but such is the temper and spirit of the Ottoman government.

Besides the prospect, there is nothing worthy of note in the town of Mardeen. The houses are of stone, and rise one above another towards the summit on which the ruined citadel stands. The streets are narrow and filthy in the extreme, and the inhabitants look woe-begone and wretched. Coordish is the common language spoken by all classes, though Arabic is better known here than at Diarbekir. The principal trade of the place is in gall-nuts, which are collected in the mountains around, and sent to Aleppo for shipment to Europe.

The population of Mardeen is computed at 2,780 families, of which 1,500 are Moslem, 600 Jacobite, 120 Papal Syrian, 500 Papal Armenian, and 60 Chaldean. The Jacobites have two churches and four priests in the town, besides three monasteries in the vicinity. The Syrian Romanists worship in a private house, and have a Bishop and four priests here. The Papal Armenians have one church, a Bishop, and six priests, besides a convent not far from the town. The Chaldeans also have a church, a Bishop, and four priests. In addition to the above, there are a few families of resident Jews.

Having received a letter of introduction to the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch from Mutran Behnâm, we set off to visit the patriarchal residence at Deir (convent) Zaaferân, which is situated in the hills, about four miles north of the town. Mar Elias was absent, but we were greeted by Mutran Yaacoob, the

Jacobite Bishop of Jerusalem,* who ranks as the first prelate after the Patriarch, and by Rabban (Monk) Behnâm, the Patriarch's nephew, who acts as his agent during his absence. The conversation naturally turned upon Church matters, and I soon discovered the cause of a certain coldness which we observed in the demeanour of some present. They took us to be *Ingleez*, a term which is often applied in the east in the same vague way as that of *Protestante* in Italy, i.e. infidel, heretic, schismatic, rationalist, &c. They had never before heard of our Church, and seemed pleased when I promised to send them a stock of books and several copies of our ritual.

Deir Zaaferân is a plain square substantial building, outwardly devoid of any architectural ornament. The interior we judged to be even meaner than the exterior; which is not to be wondered at, seeing that it has been ransacked so often by the different revolutionary parties, who for the last fifty years, have struggled to obtain possession of Mardeen. The church within the convent is small and dirty, and very poorly fitted up. It contains three stone altars, separated by two wooden partitions, a few miserable paintings, and a string of small glass lamps. In the chancel which is before the screen, but not separated from the nave, are two lecterns, where the prayers are recited, and in the body of the church are three similar stands, from which the homilies and lives of the saints are read.

The font is placed in an adjoining room or cemetery,—the burial-place of Syrian Patriarchs and Bishops for many ages. Two sides of the apartment, which is of an oblong form, are indented with eight deep recesses, seven of which contain the tombs, and the eighth the baptismal font. In the recess opposite the entrance, are deposited the remains of Mar Eughène, to whom the Church just described is dedicated, and who long after his death, as the Jacobites say, requested his nephew to transport his corpse from Jebel Toor, where it was first buried, to its present grave.

We were then shown into a small square chapel, called the *Koorsi*, or throne, containing a stone altar, behind which is an ornamental marble altar-piece surmounted by a cross, believed

* The Jacobite Bishop of Jerusalem seldom resides in the Holy City, some other being sent thither as his delegate.

to have been consecrated by S. Peter, at Antioch, and to have continued in the possession of his successors the Syrian Patriarchs, until the present day. The altar-piece consists of three niches, one within the other, on the borders of which the Scripture taken from S. Mark xvi. 13—18, is engraved in bold *Estrangheli* characters.

We next visited the library, if a dirty cupboard containing about one hundred manuscripts may be so called. Among these I found a portion of the writings of S. Chrysostom, most of the writings of Gregory Bar Hebræus, and the entire works of S. Ephrem in Syriac, besides a compendium of the ante-Nicene Fathers, written in *Estrangheli* characters, about A. D. 1000. It is clear that the residents of the convent make very little use of the library, as most of the books were covered with dust, and scarcely any further care seemed to be taken of them than that of keeping them secure from being read or stolen.

From the several remains of Grecian and Roman architecture which are scattered about the premises, as well as from the unecclesiastical disposition of the interior, I am induced to believe the tradition which ascribes its foundation to one Mar Hananya, of Caphr Tootha, a village in the plain, who is said to have purchased the building fifteen centuries ago while it was yet a castle, and to have converted it into a monastery. As we returned from the convent, we noticed to our left an immense mound, on the summit of which are the remains of an ancient fortress, called Kalaat-ool-Mara, or the woman's castle, which tradition says, was held by a female against Tamerlane, who planted fig trees at its base, and ate of their fruit during his vain attempts to reduce it. It was finally delivered by the following stratagem: during winter, when no *leben* is made, because the cattle give no milk, the lady had a dish of this sour curd prepared from the milk of a bitch, which she sent to the king. Judging from this that the resources of the castle were inexhaustible, he raised the siege and returned to his own country.

On reaching the city gate, an incident occurred which strikingly illustrates the extent of Mohammedan bigotry. A boy had fallen from a horse and cut a deep gash in his cheek; whereupon I advised his brother who was standing by, to take

him to a fountain and give him some water. "What do you mean?" said the fellow, "do you not know that it is *Ramadhân?*" "What of that?" I answered. "Will you let your brother faint from loss of blood rather than give him the water which Allah has provided for you close by? Take him at least to the fountain, and bathe his wound." In a most surly tone he rejoined: "That you may do; but I would rather see him die in agony than suffer him to break the fast by moistening his lips with water."

During our stay at Mardeen, I had several long interviews with Mutran Matta, a Jacobite Bishop with whom I afterwards became well acquainted at Mosul, and who now resides in the convent of Mar Mattai not far from that town. From him, as well as from many of the Syrians, I learned much of the state of their Church, and of the Jacobite population of Jebel Toor, which is inhabited chiefly by this people. "There our strength lies," said the Bishop; "there the Romanists have not dared to show their faces." So much did they boast of the numbers and flourishing condition of their co-religionists in that hitherto unknown district, that I determined, if possible, to visit it. I had not an opportunity of doing so till 1850, and as I intend in the succeeding chapter to give a general sketch of the present condition of the Jacobites, I shall first lay before the reader the following

Notes of a journey through Jebel Toor.

Nov. 27th, 1850.—Having been provided with a *Kawass,* or mounted orderly, through the kindness of Asaad Pasha, of Diarbekir, Mrs. Badger and I left that city at 1 P. M. on our way to Jebel Toor. The orchards under the walls displayed all the rich tints of autumn, the grass was just peeping above the ground, and the air was cool and refreshing. After fording the Tigris, some miles above the bridge, we commenced traversing the plains, and in three hours put up for the night at the pretty Armenian village of Saté, where the inhabitants received us kindly, and busied themselves in supplying our wants. The villagers here seemed contented and happy, and extolled the mild rule of the pasha of Diarbekir.

Nov. 28th.—At 7 A. M. when we started from Saté, the air

was quite cold, and a light frost lay upon the ground. In two hours we left the great Bitlis road, and three miles onward reached the Coordish village of Kara Ahmet, where we halted to wait for our baggage mules. Here we saw two Coords washing a still-born child; after washing it they laid the corpse on a large copper dish, and then sprinkled its knees and other parts of the body with fine tobacco, the object of which I could not learn. Soon after leaving Kara Ahmet, we again forded the Tigris, which is here very sluggish in its course, and continued our route over the plains, passing several villages and rivulets, which I have noted in the map, and at 4 P. M., put up at the large village of Coordirek, situated near a pleasant stream bordered with poplars, willows, and mulberry trees. The country through which we passed is inhabited almost exclusively by Coords, who cultivate the entire district south of the Tigris as far as the borders of the Arabian desert. On the whole they treated us with much civility, for a due share of which we were doubtless indebted to the presence of the Pasha's *Kawass*. There are ten Armenian families in this village.

Nov. 29th.—Started from Coordirek at 7 A.M., and continued our journey over the offshoots of a high range of hills which the Syrians told us is called Korôs in their books. In two hours we reached Dereesh, another Coordish village, most of the houses of which are built over subterranean caves, some of natural and others of artificial formation. I examined several of these which were unoccupied, and found them to contain a few niches, a rude fire-place, and a hole in the roof for a chimney, but not a vestige of any inscription. Before 1 P.M. we had crossed the lower chain of hills and began descending into a deep valley, which separates it from the high Korôs range, and through which a pretty stream flows towards the Tigris. The valley smiled with cultivation, pretty orchards surrounded the villages, and numerous rivulets ran through the gardens in every direction. Leaving the Coordish town of Saoor, which is situated on an isolated rock in a gap of the mountains and defended by a ruined castle, to our right, we entered a deep and fertile ravine, which leads through the Korôs, and reached Killeth at 4 P.M., where the inhabitants gladly welcomed us, and where we were comfortably lodged in the house of the *Kiahya*. Killeth

contains 120 Jacobite families, most of whom speak Arabic as well as Coordish and the vulgar Syriac. There is an old church in the village divided into two aisles, one of which is in ruins, and notwithstanding all their applications to the *Mutsellim* at Saoor, and to the pasha of Diarbekir, they have not yet received permission to rebuild it. The interior was dismal and dirty, and my expostulations with them on this head were met with replies such as these: "What can we do? If our patriarch, or if such as you, will not assist us, we must remain as we are." I then urged upon them and upon their three priests how much they might do themselves; they might at least clean their church, take better care of their rituals, and engage one of the priests to instruct their children. This was bringing strange things to their ears, for they evidently had not the mind to appreciate the value of such advice, as they certainly lacked the energy to follow it. The priests were very illiterate men, and the villagers of course more so; the former could indeed read the Syriac, but did not understand it, and of the latter not more than four could read at all. The worst feature in them was that they appeared quite satisfied with their religious attainments; they recited the prayers in the church, kept the fasts, maintained the heresy of the One Nature, and paid the patriarch his dues; they had not been invaded by Romish missionaries, and their security in this latter respect seemed to them a great source of exultation.

There are here a number of subterranean caves like those noticed at Dereesh, and a large grotto in a cliff opposite the village containing several apartments, said to have been used by hermits for many ages. In the courtyard of the church we observed some remains of Grecian architecture, such as fragments of chapiters and friezes, and the people told me that old silver coins were occasionally picked up in the neighbourhood.

Nov. 30*th.*—On leaving Killeth at half-past 6 A.M. our road lay for some time through deep valleys of the same chain of mountains, which were covered with wood, especially the stunted oak, and here and there well cultivated. We passed several Coordish villages on our road, and at 5 P.M. reached the large village of Midyât, inhabited exclusively by 450 Jacobite families. Here we found five priests, six churches (four of which are in

JACOBITE FEMALES OF MIDYAT IN GEBEL TOOR.

ruins), and a monastery, situated about three miles to the north of the town. The villagers here seemed in good temporal circumstances, and talked mightily of their successes against the Coords; one, pointing to his dagger, said that he had killed twenty Mussulmans with that weapon. Like those at Killeth, the Syrians at Midyât prided themselves in being Jacobites, whilst very few of them can read, and not a single school exists among them. A bishop, who is said to be ninety years of age, and who had once taken to himself the patriarchate, had left an adjoining village some weeks before for Diarbekir, whither he had gone in his old age to join the Papal Syrian community under Mutran Antoon. This secession did not seem to affect them in the least. "We can get another," said they with the greatest indifference, "or, what will be better, you yourself can come and reside amongst us." This was added more out of compliment than from any apparent desire for a better state of things. With regard to religion they seemed to believe that they were "full and in need of nothing," whilst their gross ignorance of the general doctrines of Christianity, rather declared them to be "poor" indeed.

The dress of the Christians in these districts is like that of the Coords, consisting of wide woollen *shalwar*, or trowsers, a coloured vest of the same material, bound round the waist with a girdle in which the dagger is worn, a long black and white jacket, a pointed felt cap, and a large dark muslin turban covered with spots of red. The female attire comprises a pair of *shalwar*, and a red robe somewhat resembling a surplice, the long sleeves of which are generally tied together and thrown behind the shoulders. This is secured to the waist by a narrow girdle with two large ornamental silver clasps. The head-dress is peculiar to these parts, and in form is not unlike an archer's helmet, made of a pointed cap, and covered with large pieces of silver money, laid on like scales, over which, when the wearer leaves the house, a light veil is thrown.

There is a small castle at Midyât, in the ruins of which the Mutsellim and a few irregular troops find shelter; the houses of the town, though built of stone, are little better than hovels, and extremely dirty. There is no spring near, but water is collected in cisterns during the winter, which sometimes falls

short, and the people are obliged to bring it from a distance. This is the case in many parts of the Toor mountains, and I have heard numbers say that they have been refused a draught of water whilst travelling this route in summer. Grapes are very abundant in the vicinity, and we bought a large basket of them here for about twopence. There was a great ferment while we were at Midyât, on account of the alleged discovery by a shepherd boy, of a vase of gold coins in one of the numerous natural caves with which this district abounds. The ignorant villagers ascribed the impress on the money to the empress Helena, with whose name they are traditionally familiar. In all probability they were ancient coins, but the lucky finder and his associates having decamped, a strict search was maintained by order of the pasha for their apprehension.

Dec. 1*st.*—We left Midyât at 7 A.M., and travelled over a rocky country, passing several Coordish and Yezeedee villages on our road, till we reached Deir-ool-Amar at half an hour after noon. This is a large Jacobite convent, where two monks and a few peasants who till the convent lands reside. Externally the building looks like a fortress, the interior we found to be in a very ruinous state. It contains a large church dedicated to Mar Gawrièl, the reputed founder, and one of the monks pointed out to me with evident pride a pavement of Dutch tiles before the principal altar. There was certainly nothing else to distinguish it from all other Syrian churches; it was dark and dirty, and in strict keeping with the general appearance of the place and its tenants.

The convent contains a *Beit Kaddeeshé*, or cemetery, consisting of two subterranean galleries, in which Mar Gawrièl and many Jacobite bishops are buried. The monks were very illiterate men, and seemed ignorant of every thing beyond the precincts of their present abode. They spend their time chiefly in looking after the revenue of the convent lands, which is claimed by the patriarch, in reciting the prayers, and in waiting upon the visitors who occasionally frequent the monastery from the neighbouring villages.

After resting for an hour, we pursued our journey over the same hilly district and rugged road, passed a Syrian village with a neat looking church on our left, saw the remains of ex-

tensive terracing in the hills beyond, and at 3 P.M. reached Ba-Sebreena, a small town inhabited exclusively by 250 Jacobite families. Here we found a large monastery, the residence of Mutran Patr Meerza and three monks, who seemed to lead as indolent a life as the tenants of Deir-ool-Amar. There are also several churches in the place, more than half of which are in ruins. The people, who are principally agriculturists, seemed in good temporal circumstances, but ignorant in the extreme. Some insolence on their part to a government official had brought a company of irregular troops among them, who were still quartered in their houses during our visit. They complained sadly of this, but their deportment at once convinced me that they would have ejected them had they dared.

Dec. 2nd.—In two hours after leaving Ba-Sebreena, we stopped at the large Jacobite village of Middo, where many of the inhabitants came out to meet us, and with whom we had a long interview. They have a church and two priests, but no school. Three hours beyond we put up at Azekh, another Syrian village, containing about 160 families, surrounded by extensive vineyards. This place suffered severely in 1832 from the Coordish Pasha of Rawandooz, who took many of them away captive; and also from Bedr Khan Beg of Jezeerah, who used the most harsh measures to induce them to embrace Islamism, and was the cause of the murder of their Bishop Abd-oon-Noor. This event took place about six years ago, yet no successor has been appointed to this See. Like the rest of the Syrians whom we passed on the road, the people of Azekh evinced the greatest apathy on the subject of religion. The priests complained that they were obliged to work in the fields for a livelihood, and the church was in such a filthy state that I offered to assist in having it whitewashed, if the villagers would join in the expense. Not one answered the appeal; and I found afterwards that violent dissensions existed among them. The small baptistery in the church had been converted into a depository of wheat and barley, and upon expostulating with them upon this desecration of the LORD'S house, they excused themselves on the ground that the grain alluded to formed a part of the patriarch's tithe, who they said was very exacting in his demands. A calico handkerchief, bearing the portraits of the

kings and queens of Europe was hung upon the walls, and the ignorant people thinking that they were pictures of saints, paid them no little reverence. Some deplored their abject condition, and the supineness and avarice of their patriarch and bishops, and urged me to remain among them. Poor people! They are in urgent need of some one to teach them the way of life.

Dec. 3rd.—Seven hours' ride brought us to Jezeerah, where we were received into the house of Moorad, one of the few Armenian residents. In a short time we had a visit from the only priest of the twenty Jacobite families here, who deeply lamented the present state of his community. He informed me that a few months ago the patriarch had ordered the church to be shut, and had excommunicated all his flock, because they were unable to remit to him the whole amount of his tithe. He expressed his anxiety to have a school established at Jezeerah, and hoped that the English Church would help them in this, and in the general reformation of his people. As I was not authorized to hold out any prospects of this kind to him, he has since received assistance from the American Independents in the shape of a monthly salary and books, and is now teaching a school under their auspices.

I shall reserve any further notice of Jezeerah till after the following chapter, when the former narrative will be continued.

CHAPTER VI.

Glimpse at the past history of the Syrian Jacobites.—Their present hierarchy.—Character of their Patriarch and Bishops.—Mutran Behnâm.—Ignorance of their clergy and people.—Their number and geographical position.—Secession to Rome, its causes and results.—Romish errors held by the Jacobites.—They solicit the aid of the Anglican Church.—Upon what principles reformation should be conducted.

The former narrative left our readers at Deir Zaaferân, the seat of the Syrian Patriarch. I deem this the fittest place to lay before them a general view of the present state of religion among the Syrian or Jacobite Christians.

It is not to be doubted that the efforts made by Rome during the last and preceding centuries to bring over the Jacobites to her allegiance, and the powerful assistance which the French government has afforded in this work of proselytism, have tended in a high degree to reduce them to their present pitiable condition. Nor may we forget, whilst attempting to account for the great diminution in their number, and for the decay of truth and general intelligence among them, the oppression and tyranny which they have undergone for centuries from a despotic and infidel government. Yet fruitful as this combined antagonism has allowedly been, it does not adequately account for the present deplorable state into which they have fallen. For this we must assign a more efficient cause, proceeding indeed from the same omnipotent Disposer of all things, but working more silently on the minds of those, who, because they refuse His Fatherly correction, are at length made to suffer His judicial chastisements. The continued separation of the Jacobites from the Church of Christ, from which their forefathers were cut off by the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, for their denial of the Two Natures in the incarnate Saviour, whereby

they virtually impugn the doctrine of the blessed Atonement and deprive the human race of salvation, has been followed with the most signal displeasure of the ALMIGHTY. When we call to mind their early history, the 150 archbishops and bishops under the patriarch and *maphrian* of which their hierarchy once consisted, their numbers, the extent of country over which they spread, and the zeal and learning of some of their eminent doctors; and then look upon their present spiritual destitution, as also upon that of their co-religionists the Copts of Egypt and the Monophysites of Abyssinia, we cannot withhold the confession that the hand of the LORD has fallen heavily upon them.

But as it is not my intention to enter into any details of the past history of the Syrians, I shall proceed to give an account of their actual condition as a religious community, begging the reader to bear in mind that the following remarks are the result of two years' constant intercourse with them, of an intimate acquaintance with their patriarch and most of their bishops, and of personal visits to the districts in which they principally reside, as the foregoing and succeeding narrative will more fully testify.

The present hierarchy of the Jacobites in Turkey consists of a patriarch, who claims the title of "Patriarch of Antioch and successor of S. Peter," eight metropolitans, and three bishops. Of these one resides at Mosul, one in the convent of Mar Mattai in the same district, one at Urfah, one at Diarbekir or Kharpoot, one at Jerusalem, one at Mardeen, three in Jebel Toor, and two are called *Temeloyo*, i.e. universal, without any regular dioceses. The late patriarch Elias, whom I met at Constantinople in 1844, was a venerable old man of a kindly disposition, but wanting energy to rule. Moreover his time and attention were so absorbed in seeking to regain possession of the churches which the Syrian Romanists had seized upon, that little or nothing was done by him for the amelioration of the spiritual condition of his people. His successor, Mutran Yacoob, has already been introduced to our readers at Deir Zaaferân. From the almost universal testimony of the Syrians themselves, he is a man of a grasping and ambitious spirit, who only aims at exacting from his flock all that he can, not for any purposes of

general good, but for his own personal aggrandizement. His behaviour towards the congregation at Jezeerah, which has already been related, speaks volumes against him; and he is said to be in the receipt of a yearly stipend from Russia, whither he had been once sent by his predecessor to collect subscriptions in behalf of the Syrians. On his first accession to the patriarchate he published an edition of the Syriac psalter for sale among the Jacobites of Turkey and India; but this forms the sum of all the good which he appears to have attempted for the regeneration of his people. Notwithstanding this neglect, he is ever demanding remittances from the Churches, and when these are not forthcoming he issues against them the severest censures.

The Bishops generally are illiterate men, but little versed in Scripture, and thoroughly ignorant of ecclesiastical history. They scarcely ever preach, and their episcopal visitations are confined to occasional ordinations, and to the collecting of tithe from their several dioceses. All of them can of course read the Syriac of their rituals, but few thoroughly understand it. Mutran Behnâm, however, is an exception to this rule; he is a good Syriac and Arabic scholar, has a competent knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and has for the last year or two preached regularly in the churches of Mosul. He has already been mentioned in the opening of this volume as the patriarch's delegate at Constantinople, where he resided with the Rev. H. Southgate, and enjoyed for several months the benefit of his kind hospitality and assistance. Much good was expected to result from the information which he gained respecting the English and American Churches, and from the zeal which he manifested to introduce reform among his people; but I regret to say that these expectations have not been realized. Shortly after his return from Constantinople, and after our departure from Mosul, he joined with a number of his people who had held intercourse with us in 1842—44, and had been led to desire a better state of things, in writing to the Lord Bishop of London, the Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem, and the Church Missionary Society, begging that teachers might be sent out to them; but no notice whatever was taken of their request. In 1849 the American Independents answered the appeal, and although, as I am fully

persuaded, the Syrians would have preferred assistance from us, such was their ardent desire for improvement, and such their conviction of the gross abuses in their Church, that they welcomed the missionary who was sent out to them, and continue to frequent his meetings in spite of the excommunications which have been issued against a few of their number by their diocesan. Thus another schism has been formed, and another field opened for the spread of sectarian doctrines. Some blame is imputed to the Bishop for having in a measure invited the Independents to Mosul, as well as for other inconsistencies; but when we take into consideration the difficulty of his position, his anxiety for the maintenance of unity, his own continued attachment as well as that of a portion of his people to certain erroneous practices, and withal his desire for many radical reforms,—we may not judge him too harshly. It is beyond dispute, however, that he is decidedly opposed to the efforts of the new missionaries from America.

As might naturally be expected, the lower orders of the Syrian clergy are generally more illiterate than the Bishops; and how can it be otherwise? Their education for the priesthood is confined to a perusal of the Syriac rituals, which they are taught to read in a convent or in some obscure school, or of which they pick up a superficial knowledge whilst acting as servants to the church or village where they reside. From indigence or a love of gain, they often ply a trade or engage in mercantile speculations, and their sacerdotal functions are for the most part restricted to reading the prayers, administering the sacraments, and receiving the confessions of their parishioners. Among the many Jacobite priests with whom I am acquainted, I do not know one who preaches or who is capable of preaching to the people, and pastoral visits, or the catechizing of children, are equally unheard of among them.

Such being the backwardness and inefficiency of their clergy, it is not to be wondered at that religious knowledge and vital godliness are at a very low ebb among the Syrian laity. Notwithstanding the comparative affluence of this community, I believe that there do not exist among them more than twenty small schools in the whole of Turkey, where their population amounts to something like 100,000 souls. The following is a

rough estimate in villages of the proportion of their numbers in the different districts.

Jebel Toor	150	villages.
District of Urfah and Gawar .	50	„
Kharpoot . .	15	„
Diarbekir . .	6	„
Mosul . .	5	„
Damascus . .	4	„

Making in all 230 villages now inhabited by Syrians. In Aleppo, where they once numbered several hundred families, not more than ten Jacobite families now exist, the rest having joined the Church of Rome. The same secession has left them only a name at Damascus, and their few remaining adherents in that district are confined to the villages of Sadad, Kariatain, Hafar, and Nebk, between Hamah and Aleppo. The Jacobite community of Baghdad has followed the example set them by their brethren at Aleppo and Damascus; Mosul now comprises an equal number of papal and Jacobite Syrians; at Mardeen and Diarbekir, as we have seen, there are rival communities of Romanist Syrians; at Urfah the Latin missionaries have already gathered a few stragglers to their flock; and if Jebel Toor has not hitherto furnished its quota of converts, it is because no measures have yet been taken to induce its rude inhabitants to acknowledge the supremacy of the Italian Pontiff. Such is the present degraded state of the Jacobites, such the dissensions among them, and such the conduct of their spiritual guides, that a combined effort on the part of Rome would speedily and inevitably result in their entire submission to the papal See.

And if the truth is to be told, it must be confessed that however much to be deplored this secession may be,—inasmuch as with a reception of the true Catholic doctrine respecting the divinity and humanity of our incarnate Lord, the seceders become confirmed in certain false doctrines and corrupt practices which, though prevalent among them now, are not sanctioned by their early fathers,—the Syrian proselytes to Rome are decidedly superior in many respects to their Jacobite brethren. Wherever they have formed themselves into a distinct body, they have established schools, rebuilt their churches, increased

the number of their clergy, and provided better means for their education and support, and are far more united in concord and design than the community from which they have seceded. This is doubtless owing to the co-operation of the Italian missionaries, to the support which they have received from abroad, and from the profitable visits which several of their Bishops have paid to Europe, where they learned to appreciate the benefits of order and education. But to whatever cause attributable, the fact cannot be disputed, that the body now styling themselves "Syrian Catholics," are far superior to the Jacobites in general intelligence, respectability, ecclesiastical discipline, and mutual agreement.

Improvements such as these are not without their value when we take into consideration that the Jacobites of the present day, whatever may be the teaching of their old standard writers, have adopted well nigh all the erroneous doctrines and corrupt practices of the Church of Rome. To this cause we must attribute the principal success of the Roman missionaries; for bringing with them so little that was repugnant to the received opinions of the Jacobites, and so many additional advantages, social and political, they were welcomed by them as special benefactors.

Notwithstanding the faithfulness of the above picture, there are tokens of promise among the Syrians amply sufficient to engage the sympathies of the English Church in their behalf. We have already seen that with so many errors which they hold in common with Rome, the remaining Jacobites are strongly opposed to the efforts of her missionaries, and this opposition is doubtless strengthened by the feelings of jealousy which they harbour towards the seceders who have dispossessed them of so many of their churches. On the other hand, the late revolutions in France and Italy, since which the large annual remittances to the Eastern communities in alliance with Rome have been cut off, have greatly weakened the strength of the dissenters and hindered the onward progress of proselytism. Now the Independents are vexing them, and they have no other resource left to help them in the work of reform than the Church of England. The Syrian Bishop and people of Mosul applied for her aid, but it was not granted; and at this time I have abundant proof

from the same quarter and from the villages around, that the Jacobites here would hail with gladness, and receive with gratitude, a mission from the Anglican Church.

How this work should be carried on, the Church alone has a right to decide; but it is certain that something may and something ought to be done in behalf of the Syrians. It is not enough to establish schools among them; the special mission of the Church in this instance would be to reform the errors of their creed, and to raise them up from their present state of spiritual destitution, and she will see to it that her missionaries are allowed to teach the whole truth of GOD, and that the ecclesiastical heads of the Jacobites sanction and approve of such a course. If some withhold their consent, wishing only to obtain from us the means of furthering their own erroneous doctrines, or of giving their people the benefits of secular knowledge, then we can turn to those who will welcome us as the reformers of their Church, and from my own knowledge there are several dioceses and Bishops who would not hesitate to receive us in that capacity.

Hoping that GOD will put it into the heart of the Church at home to enter upon this charitable work, I shall draw these remarks to a close, and resume our former narrative.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Mardeen, and arrival at Nisibeen.—Ruins of ancient Nisibis.—Reverence of the Mohammedans for the church of S. James.—Description of Jezeerah.—Oppression of the Christians, and insolence of the Coords.—Tradition that the Ark rested on Mount Kardo.—Zakho, and the Chaldean villages around.—Meeting with friends at Telkèf.—Arrival at Mosul.—Visits from the native clergy.—Mutran Matta, the Indo-Syrian Bishop.—His proceedings at Mosul and in India.—Conduct of the Patriarchs towards the Jacobites on the Malabar coast.—Visit to Mohammed Pasha.—His tricks to be thought a scholar.—Political state of Mosul before his appointment.—The spirit of his government.—His cruelty, exactions, and avarice. His conduct to the descendants of Mohammed.—His ambition and political intrigues.

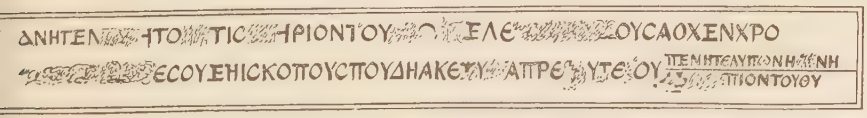
Oct. 29*th.*—We left Mardeen at 11 A.M., and in four hours passed the remains of a Roman building called Kasr (palace) Karandelân, not far from the Coordish village of Kasr Ibreej. Two hours beyond is the large village of Amooda, where we put up for the night. This plain, which might be rendered one of the most fertile in the world, is only cultivated here and there by the Coords and a few Arabs of the Jeboor and Tai tribes. Our road to-day lay along the Toor Mountain, about ten miles from its southern base. This range stretches to the north as far as the Tigris, which separates it from the Taurus.

Oct. 30*th.*—We started from Amooda at half-past 6 A.M., and after travelling ten miles, passed the site of another Roman building, called Kasr Serteka, or Senjeka, the stones of which were removed about five years ago by Meerza Pasha to build the new barracks near Nisibeen. At noon we reached the latter place, which at present can scarcely claim the title of village. What a change has come over this famous city, once the firmest bulwark of the Roman provinces of the east, which defied the attacks of the victorious Shapoor, who thrice besieged it with the flower of the Persian army, A.D. 338, 346, and 350! It finally

fell into their hands under Jovian, A.D. 363, after the retreat and death of the emperor Julian, and resisted all the attempts of the Romans to regain possession of it. S. James, one of the Fathers of the Council of Nice, was present at Nisibis during the last memorable siege of Shapoor; and here in after ages flourished that famous nursery of Nestorianism, the rival of Edessa, which gave birth to those learned and zealous missionaries who carried a knowledge of the Gospel into Tartary, India, and China.

Nisibeen is at present inhabited by 300 families, chiefly Arabs of the Tai tribe, who live in tents pitched amidst the debris of the ancient city, and speak Coordish as well as their own native language. The Christians, who are Jacobites and Armenians, number twelve families, without a church or priest. Of forty Jewish families who resided here a few years ago, four only remain, the rest having been driven by oppression to seek a shelter elsewhere.

The principal relics of antiquity still extant at Nisibeen, are the two solitary marble columns at a short distance from the village, a few ornamental figures, and the so-called Church of S. James. The latter consists of two apartments partly buried in an accumulation of rubbish, which surrounds the whole building. The first, which is of a circular form, is supported by Corinthian pillars, and is in a tolerable state of preservation. The chief entrance faces the east, and this circumstance,[10] as well as the internal arrangement of the edifice, leads me to conclude that it was not a church, but a mausoleum erected over the remains of the holy Bishop. The contiguous apartment is destitute of architectural ornament; and from this we descended by a narrow staircase into a sepulchral vault, a subterranean cell measuring 14 ft. by 8 ft. A marble sarcophagus, one side of which has been ruthlessly destroyed, doubtless in hope of finding treasure, marks the traditional grave of S. James. We discovered the following mutilated inscription over the principal entrance, which is now entirely blocked up with rubbish:



The Mohammedans hold this building in high veneration, and none visit the Zein-ool-Abedeen, a sacred shrine close by, without first performing their devotions within its walls. It was related to us by our Tatar, that about fifty years ago, one Tamr Pasha turned the church into a stable, and next morning all his horses were found dead. Several Moslems also told us that when Meerza Pasha designed to rebuild Nisibeen, he converted the building into a magazine for straw; but being warned in a dream, he ordered it to be removed immediately, and built a wall to support the falling roof of one of the apartments. He moreover offered to restore the church at his own expense, and intended to add a monastery to it, and present it to the Syrian Christians. His recal, said my informants, prevented the execution of his pious designs.

Another Mohammedan pointed out to us the position of the crescent on the dome of the shrine, the horns of which, instead of being pointed upwards, turned in the direction of the church. On inquiring the cause, he replied: "The founder of Zein-ool-Abedeen always prayed towards the tomb of the saint."

Oct. 31*st.*—We started from Nisibeen at 7 A.M., and after crossing the Jaghjagha, the ancient Mygdonius, over a ruined bridge of eight arches, we reached the small village of Haj Oghloo, at 3 P.M., where we put up for the night. We passed nine Coordish villages during our day's journey, in some of which are a few Jacobites and Yezeedees. At Haznaoor there are fifteen Jacobite families, without a priest or a church. Ten hours' ride from Haj Oghloo brought us to Babeel, and the day following we reached Jezeerah, about eighteen miles distant. The whole of the district from Nisibeen is under the jurisdiction of Bedr Khan Beg, the Emeer of Buhtân, generally known as the Emeer of Jezeerah, of whose cruelty we heard much from the persecuted Christians on the road, and whose barbarity to the Nestorians a few months after will be recorded in the succeeding narrative.

Jezeerah (literally "an island"), the ancient Be-Zabde, is situated in a deep valley on the western bank of the Tigris, the waters of which insulate the town during several months of the year, when the divided stream is crossed by two crazy bridges of boats. The place is in so dilapidated a condition, that the best

lodging we could procure was an open recess, where I lay for three days suffering from a severe attack of fever, which obliged me to call in the aid of a Christian female phlebotomist. She bled me freely from the arm, and otherwise attended me during my illness. Bedr Khan Beg was residing in a mountain fortress called Deir Guli, about four hours distant, and Jezeerah was governed by a Coordish *Mutsellim*, who ruled the Christians with a rod of iron. The bulk of the population consists of Coords, there being not more than twenty Jacobite and sixty Chaldean families in the place, who have each a church and a priest. Coordish is the language generally spoken by all classes of the people. Until within the last few years, a Nestorian Metropolitan resided at Jezeerah, but most of his flock here and in the plains around having joined the Church of Rome, he retired into the Buhtân mountains opposite, where he has still the oversight of a large diocese. Since then, Mutran Basileos, a Chaldean Bishop, has been appointed to this see; he seldom resides however at Jezeerah.

A heavy gloom seemed to pervade the inhabitants of this town: the poor Christians were afraid to open their mouths, and related to us in whispers many sad tales of Bedr Khan Beg's tyranny and oppression. The Coords, as they walked through the streets, or sat in the bazaar, looked upon us with sovereign contempt, and told us by their insolent and haughty bearing, that they hated us, as they did all who bore the name of Christ. Their star was yet in the ascendant, and I have no doubt that many of them were even then looking forward with satisfaction and rapture to the projected slaughter of the mountain Nestorians.

Nov. 5th.—We left Jezeerah at 10 A.M., and in six hours reached the Chaldean village of Takiân. Our road to-day lay at the foot of the high mountains of Joodi, the Tooré Kardo* of the Syrians, and supposed by them as well as by the Mohammedans to be the spot on which the ark rested after the deluge. This tradition is also handed down in the name of a village in the mountains, called the "Market of the Eight," with reference to the number of Noah's family who were preserved from the flood.

* The classical reader will recognise in this appellation the country of the "Gordians" of Strabo, and the "Carduchians" of Xenophon.

Takiân is situated in the valley of Zakho, through which the Khaboor flows, and is bounded on the north by the lofty mountains of Joodi and on the south by a lower range called Jebe Bekher, which separates the valley of the Khaboor from the plains of Mosul. There are five Chaldean villages in the vicinity of Takiân, all of which have submitted to Rome within the last few years. Nahrwân is the only Nestorian village left in the plain between Zakho and Jezeerah. From the people here I learned that many Nestorians still inhabited the mountain province of Buhtân.

Nov. 6th.—Seven hours' ride brought us to Zakho, a small provincial town built upon an island formed by the divided stream of the Khaboor, and reckoned within the pashalic of Mosul. We found here a few Chaldeans, twenty Papal Syrian families, with a church and priest, and seventy houses of Jews: the rest of the inhabitants, amounting to about 2,000 souls, are chiefly Coords. In the evening we had a visit from the Mutsellim, who managed to drink four large bowls of tea before he took his departure.

Nov. 7th.—Three hours' ride through a rugged pass in the Bekher range brought us once more to the plains of the Tigris, over which we travelled till 7 P.M., when we put up at the Yezeedee village of Semiel. After a journey of eleven hours, the day following we reached the large Chaldean village of Telkèf, where we were received in the house of Mutran Basileos by my brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Rassam, whom I had not seen for several years, and by a goodly number of native friends who had come thus far to congratulate us on our safe arrival.

Nov. 9th.—Three hours' ride from Telkèf brought us opposite the mounds of ancient Nineveh, where those interesting relics of remote antiquity which have since been dug up then lay buried and undisturbed in the grave of many centuries. We crossed the Tigris for the fifth time over a bridge of boats, and soon reached the British Vice-Consulate, where in the embraces of a devoted mother, who in her old age had accompanied my sister to these far distant parts, I forgot the toil and fatigue of a long and wearisome journey.

During the day we received friendly visits from well nigh

all the native clergy of the town, as also from many of the principal laymen. Among these was Gregorius Isa, the Papal Syrian Bishop of Mosul, with whom I had travelled in Syria six years before, and Mutran Matta, who had within the last few weeks returned from Deir Zaaferân, where he had been consecrated bishop over the Syrians on the Malabar coast. He had been educated in the college at Cottyam, and spoke English fluently. On the death of the only Jacobite bishop in India he was sent to be consecrated as his successor, and had arrived at Mosul on his way to the patriarch at the beginning of the year. Here he candidly told his co-religionists that he was not validly ordained priest, as the bishop was a corpse when his hands were laid upon his head. So great, however, was the desire of the Jacobites to see him officiate that they induced him to offer the oblation and to preach in their churches, which he did through the assistance of a deacon, who interpreted his Syriac into Arabic. It appears that in his discourses he frequently inveighed against the errors of the Papacy, which so irritated the Romanists that they used all their influence to have him sent out of the town. His claim to British protection saved him from this indignity, and he afterwards repaired to Deir Zaaferân, where the patriarch ordained him priest and bishop, and gave him the oversight of all the Jacobites on the Malabar coast. He was a man of much intelligence, but from the drift of his remarks, as well as from his after conduct, he seems to have entertained a design of introducing many sectarian doctrines and practices among the Syrians in India. He was on the most intimate terms with the three American Independent missionaries resident at Mosul, and constantly joined in their religious services. On reaching India he attempted to carry out his latitudinarian principles of reform into practice, and so many complaints were made against his proceedings, that the patriarch finally deposed him, not however before he had succeeded in creating a schism in the diocese. To this gentleman I believe myself indebted for a libel which was published in the London "Record" newspaper, attributing to me the error of holding the Apocrypha to be canonical and inspired Scripture. This unintentional or wilful perversion of the truth must have arisen from my having expressed regret that the Apocrypha was not published with the Syrian Bible,

chiefly on the ground that the Jacobites desired it, and that many lessons therefrom were appointed to be read in our churches. The Arabic edition of our ritual had already fallen into the hands of the Syrians, and several had expressed their surprise that with such high sanction we did not supply them with the means of referring to the books from which the lessons were taken. I do not believe that the bishop himself wrote the libel in question, but he most probably repeated the conversation to some friends of his at Mosul, who from the first viewed our mission as an interference, and from whom several similar misrepresentations which appeared in the same periodical could only have proceeded.

The mention which has been made of the Syrians in India leads me to add a few remarks on the after proceedings of the patriarch towards them. A successor was appointed to replace Mutran Matta in the charge of the diocese by the late Mar Elias, but as he did not accomplish his mission satisfactorily, the present patriarch sent out another to supersede him. There are therefore more than three Jacobite bishops on the Malabar coast, each laying claim to the obedience of the Indo-Syrians, and each countenanced and supported by different parties in the diocese. Confusion and discord must be the natural consequences of such misrule, for which the patriarchs are chiefly to be blamed. Their principal aim is to obtain pecuniary assistance, and if this is not forthcoming the bishop is judged as being unfaithful in the discharge of his office, and another is sent out to succeed him. And when we add to this the general incapacity of the Syrian prelates, we cannot wonder if the state of the Jacobites in India is deplorable in the extreme.

The day following our arrival I paid a visit to the famous Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, surnamed Injé Beirakdâr, whose interference in the Nestorian affairs will be frequently alluded to hereafter. He received me very graciously, and in return for some European curiosities of which I begged his acceptance, he shortly after sent me the present of a horse. Thinking that he ought to treat me as one of the English Oolema, he showed me a Turkish work on geometry which was open before him, and made no little effort to impress me with the idea that he himself was a man of considerable learning. So adroit had he become

in the practice of this species of deception, that I was astonished to learn afterwards that he could not even read. It was a common custom with him, on the arrival of despatches from the Porte, to have a long private interview with the Tatar who brought them, from whom he generally managed to glean something of their import. Thereupon calling for his secretary he first gave him an outline of what he pretended to have perused, and then directed him to read over the whole in his presence.

Mohammed Pasha had already ruled over this province for seven years, and had been instrumental in introducing many salutary reforms in the administration. Before his appointment Mosul had been governed for a century and a half by native pashas of Christian origin. Abd-ool-Jeleel was a Nestorian, one of whose sons embraced Islamism, and afterwards rose to the dignity of pasha. "From him the government of the province became hereditary in that family, and descended in unbroken succession till within a few years, when it was violently interrupted by an insurrection, which introduced a train of miseries that have but just now ceased. The people esteeming themselves oppressed by their ruler, determined to free their city from him and from the race altogether. Several pashas of the family, who attempted to regain the government, were murdered, and the last of the name, having added to the hate of the people the ill-will of the Sultan, was sent into banishment near Constantinople.

"The town during these events became a scene of complete anarchy. The people were divided into factions, and the peace of the city was destroyed by incessant brawls and murders. Walls were built across the streets to separate hostile quarters. Trade was almost entirely destroyed, and the place was, for some time, without a governor. The *rayahs* procured their safety by combining in companies of three or four to support some influential partisan, who, in turn, protected them. Clothes were torn from passengers in the street. Assassinations were frequent and committed with impunity. The inhabitants could not go half an hour from the city, on the land side, for fear of robbers from the desert, who came and plundered to the very walls.

"In the midst of these commotions, the Sultan interfered, and sent the present Pasha, a man noted for his severe and

relentless disposition, to the city. As soon as he had arrived, attempts were made to assassinate him. Continual plots were formed against his life, which he escaped by the energy and activity of his movements. One by one, he brought the leaders of the factions into his power, and secretly despatched them. As soon as they were gone, the danger was past, and he continued the work of beheading at his leisure, until every vestige of the insurrection was suppressed and removed. The city is now more completely under the authority of the Sultan than it has been for a century past. The Pasha was just introducing the new order of the military, and the manner in which it was received, was a fair specimen of the feeling with which it was met, at the outset, in every part of the empire. As soon as it was announced that the Pasha was about to make his first enlistment of soldiers, the city was thrown into an indescribable panic. Officers were walking through the streets in search of men. Thousands fled and hid themselves in secret places in the city, or escaped to the mountains. The Pasha ordered every gate to be closed, excepting one, through which none were allowed to go out without a passport. The bazaars were closed, and deserted by all but a few old men, and the streets appeared as if the pestilence were abroad. As I passed along, [A.D. 1838,] I heard the cries and lamentations of women in the houses from which one or more had been taken. Fathers and mothers were to be seen about the palace imploring for their children who had been seized."*

In the course of a few years Mohammed Pasha had a well-organized army at his command, by the aid of which he entirely suppressed the inroads and depredations of the Arabs, Coords, and Yezeedees, and rendered this province one of the safest in the empire. The spirit and firmness which these reforms exhibited would have been far more praiseworthy had they been accompanied with less barbarity and fewer exactions. But he was a man of cruel and grasping disposition, and a perfect adept in intrigue and cunning. The refusal of the Yezeedees in Singar to pay the amount of taxes which he demanded of them, as well as some disturbances which arose in that district, were visited by him with summary chastisement. Several hundreds were

* Southgate's "Tour through Armenia," &c.

totally massacred, and the ears of a large number were cut off, and hung up before the gates of Mosul. He retorted upon the Arabs of the desert their former outrages, and such tribes as came within his reach he indiscriminately plundered. The Coordish Pasha of Amedia he dispossessed of his hereditary dignity, took from him his provinces, and reduced the hardy and warlike Coords to obedience and even to abject submission. In his exactions he made no distinction between Christians, Moslems, Jews, or Yezeedees—they were all sheep of his flock whom he valued only for the fleece which they brought him. A striking instance of this took place during our residence at Mosul. Hitherto the *Seyyids*, or descendants of the False Prophet, who are distinguished by being privileged to wear a green turban, had been free from the payment of certain taxes which were levied upon all the Sultan's subjects, and Mohammed Pasha determined to bring them within the operation of the law. A deputation from their number ventured to expostulate with him upon the indignity and injustice which this new ordinance offered to the family of the Prophet. Whereupon he demanded, on what they founded their right to such immunity, and how he was to know that they really were what they pretended to be. The *Seyyids* then pointed to their green turbans, the badge of their genealogy and sacred privileges. "Is that all?" said the Pasha, "why the ducks near Kerkook have green heads, and are notorious for a filthy habit of wallowing in the mire. I doubt whether you are any better; so away with you and pay the taxes."

The immense wealth which he derived from his exactions, as well as from the sale of monopolies, enabled Mohammed Pasha to maintain his standing with the Porte notwithstanding the many complaints which were frequently made against his administration. It is well known that he was in the habit of sending large bribes to the Sultan's ministers, who urged in his behalf the vigour with which he had suppressed anarchy and rebellion, and the general efficiency of his rule, whenever any effort was made to remove him from office. Notwithstanding these outlays he continued to amass vast treasures, and he frequently boasted that the supreme government was in his debt to the amount of £150,000. He longed to extend his

sway over the mountains north of Amedia, and used every species of intrigue to get that district annexed to the Mosul pashalic. To this end he secretly fomented disturbances among the Coords and Nestorians, and was himself the first to convey the intelligence of such feuds to the Sublime Porte. Hereafter we shall see the baneful results of these machinations, and it is chiefly on account of the part which his avarice and ambition led him to take in the Nestorian affairs that this sketch of his history and character has been laid before the reader.

A severe fever which attacked four of our party, carried off one of our servants after a lingering illness, and brought Mrs. Badger and myself to the brink of the grave, suspended our operations and researches for the first four months after our arrival at Mosul.

MOSUL FROM THE EASTERN BANK OF THE TIGRIS.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ancient name of Mosul.—Destruction of Nineveh by the Medes.—Description of the modern town.—Causes of its decay.—Its resources and trade.—Productions and climate.—Mosques and churches.—Population and language.—Costume.—Sulphur springs.—Bituminous springs at Hammam Ali.—Haunt of wild pigeons.—Popular superstition respecting the Khasfeh.—Tomb of the prophet Jonah.—Discoveries at Nimrood in 1844.—Letter to Sir Stratford Canning.—Importance of the ancient Syriac records in corroborating the modern exposition of the Semitic cuneiform monuments.

Mosul is considered by Rennell, and after him by Ainsworth, to be a corruption of the Mes-Pylæ of Xenophon; but the correctness of this derivation appears to me very doubtful. The common tradition is, that the present appellation was given to it by the Saracen conquerors of Mesopotamia, who remained here some time before they proceeded northward, and because it was the principal resting-place between Diarbekir and Baghdad the capital of the Caliphs.* El-Yakooti, the famous geographer, in his Moajem-ool-Beldân says, that Mosul was anciently called Noo or Nev Ardasheer, (New Artaxerxes,) a name most probably given to it by the Medes after they had wrested this country from the Assyrians; or it may be by the later Persians who were defeated near the ruins of Nineveh by the Roman army under Heraclius, A.D. 627. Strabo speaks of a Persian city called "Artagira," and Ptolemy refers to the same under the title of "Artasisgarta,"† as being situated on the confines of Upper Armenia and Assyria, on the eastern banks of the Tigris. There is therefore some reason for believing that Ardasheer succeeded Nineveh and occupied its site, and that when the town was removed to the opposite bank of the Tigris the

* The Arabic word signifies "the place of arrival."

† Strabo, lib. xi. Ptolemy, lib. v. cap. 13.

additional "New" was prefixed to its name. In the Index of Syrian authors drawn up by Mar Abd Yeshua, A.D. 1298, a translation of which is given in Vol. II. Appendix B., the word "Noo Ardasheer" occurs twice as the title of a place, and the seat of a Nestorian Bishop. In many other Syriac MSS. Mosul is styled "Athoor," and it is not an uncommon practice with ecclesiastical writers of the present day to use the same phraseology: "Mosul, which is Athoor;" but this must be regarded rather as a traditional commemoration of the title of one of the oldest dioceses in these parts, (which was also called "Nineveh" long after that name had ceased to denote the capital of the Assyrian Kings,) than as the common appellative of a particular town then existing.*

The destruction of Nineveh by the Medes is thus described in an old Syriac work which I met with at Mosul in 1850: "*Nineveh is of old like a pool of water.* [Nahum ii. 8.] This was literally accomplished as the fact fully testifies; for Adorbahan the Mede, from whom Aderbijan takes its name, destroyed Nineveh by water, when he came from Media with a great army against Sardanapalus the King of Athoor. The two rivers which ran through the meadows and united in Nineveh he joined with two other rivers, one of which he brought from the Tigris, and the other ran through Nineveh itself. After he had united all four together he brought the force of the water to bear against the city, and destroyed it with a flood according to the prediction of the prophet. After this it was taken by stratagem from Esarhaddon by the Babylonians." The same author writes in another place: "Arbaces the Persian when he took possession of Nineveh, cut a canal from the Tigris, above the city, and flooded it."

The four rivers spoken of in the above extract puzzled me exceedingly, as the Khoser is the only rivulet which now flows through the mounds of Nineveh; but Mr. Layard informed me that he could discover the beds of two other smaller streams, which, with the water turned off from the Tigris, make up the four "rivers" mentioned in the manuscript. The fact here

* S. Ephrem, in his poem called the "Basotha d'Ninwayé," which still forms a part of the Nestorian ritual, uses the two words Nineveh and Athoor indiscriminately, as denoting the same place.

F.C. Cooper, lith

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THE AUTHOR'S HOUSE AT MOSUL.

recorded literally fulfils the prophecy of Nahum, and accounts for a stratum of pebbles and sand which has been found a few feet below the surface in the mounds of Koyoonjuk and Nimrood.* The labours of Mr. Layard in the work of excavation, and his researches about Nineveh, render any further description of its ancient site, or of the wonderful relics which have been dug up therefrom, unnecessary and superfluous.

Mosul is situated on the western bank of the Tigris, and is surrounded by a good wall, about three miles in circumference, which encloses, besides the town, a large space covered with ruins, and some extensive fields. The houses are built of stone, with arched roofs, and the walls of the court yards partly faced with slabs of sculptured marble, or rather alabaster, after the manner of the buildings which have lately been discovered in the mounds of Nineveh and Nimrood. Many of the houses, however, are in a very dilapidated state, attributable in a great measure to the calamities which have befallen the city during the last century. In 1825 it was visited by a famine which lasted for three successive years; this was succeeded by a plague which raged for nine months, and swept away 18,000 persons in Mosul only. Again, in 1831, 2, the river rose to such a height that the town and much of the surrounding country were flooded for months together. And if we add to these misfortunes the ruin of the native manufactures by the importation of cheaper and better articles from Europe, chiefly the produce of our machinery, together with the misrule to which the place has been so long subjected, we cannot wonder that this once flourishing city has been impoverished, and its prosperity well nigh destroyed.

The only manufactures of Mosul at the present day are cotton-cloths and soap, which find a market in the villages around. The principal articles of commerce are the gall-nuts which are

* The remains of the palace lately dug up at Koyoonjuk bear evident signs of having been burnt. The following extract from the author already quoted accounts for this circumstance: "Jonah went to Nineveh in the second year of the reign of King Uzziah, whilst Sardanapalus was King of Nineveh and Babylon. After this, Arbaces the Mede made war upon Sardanapalus, and overcame him; whereupon Sardanapalus destroyed himself by fire. And Arbaces reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by Pul, the son of Sardanapalus, who put an end to the Empire of the Medes."

gathered from the valonîa oaks in Coordistan, and wool which is brought in by the pastoral Arabs and Coords, and exported hence to Europe by way of Baghdad and Aleppo. The staple agricultural produce is wheat and barley, which is so abundant that it hardly repays the cost of cultivation. The former is now [1850] selling for eight and the latter for five pence the hundred weight. The distance of Mosul from Europe must ever prevent the establishment of a lucrative trade in grain, and the want of an export adequate to the large imports from abroad is gradually destroying the resources of this province. Silk might be produced in large quantities in the mountains, where the mulberry grows almost wild; but such is the short-sightedness and supineness of the government, that beneficial measures of this kind are made to give way to trumpery reforms in dress, mere outward changes in the mode of administration, or to vain and ambitious designs of conquest.* The cultivation of the mulberry was introduced into Diarbekir about eight years ago, and the result has surpassed the most sanguine expectations.

The transport trade from Mosul to Baghdad is carried on by rafts, the same species of conveyance that was used in the days of Herodotus, and long before his time, as may be ascertained from many illustrations on the slabs which have lately been dug up at Nineveh. These are constructed of a stout frame-work of rough timber, to which a deck of canes is secured with ligatures of bark. Beneath this the sheep-skins are fastened with the opening peering above the reeds, so as to facilitate their being inflated anew in case the air should escape during the voyage. The rafts for carrying merchandize vary from sixteen to twenty feet square, and are floated by as many as five hundred skins.

* A Turkish admiral accompanied by several naval officers and engineers passed through Mosul in March, 1850, on their way to Basra, where they have orders to erect a dock, and to build ships of war for the Porte. Thousands of pounds will doubtless be spent upon this undertaking, which, if laid out upon an object such as that above alluded to, might in a few years yield a large increase to the public revenue, and be the means of enriching the country generally. The commerce of the Turks in the Arabian Sea and in the Persian Gulf is fully protected by the cruizers of the East India Company, so that unless they intend to impose their rule upon the Arabs of Bahrein, Oman, Muscat, and Yemen, which are governed badly enough now, but would hardly be bettered by the paternal sway of the Osmanlis, it is difficult to conceive the object of this new scheme.

Two or more rowers placed on each side help to propel and guide these vessels as they glide down the river. Much smaller rafts with a felt cabin raised above the deck, are constructed for travellers, in one of which we reached Baghdad from Mosul in three days and two nights.

There are only a few gardens near Mosul, but the mountains around supply the town with grapes, pomegranates, apricots, and other fruits; oranges are brought from Baghdad. The banks of the Tigris, however, and the islets formed in the river itself during the summer season produce melons, cucumbers, and many other esculents in abundance. In winter the market is stocked with turnips, carrots and beet-root; and in spring, camel-loads of truffles are brought into the town by the Arabs. The bread here is superior to any in Turkey; and the *Kaimak*, the cream of buffalo milk, may vie with the produce of the best Devonshire dairies. Snow seldom falls in Mosul during the winter, when the climate is temperate and delightful; but the heat of the summer months is excessive, and obliges the inhabitants to retreat into their *serdâbs*, (subterranean apartments with which almost all the dwellings are provided,) till after sunset. They then retire to the roofs of the houses, and there dine and pass the night.

There are no less than 19 mosques in the town of Mosul, 250 *Mesjids*, or chapels, and 12 *Medressehs*, or schools, besides the ruins of many others. The minaret of the Jâma-ool-Kbeer is an elaborate work of art, rising to the height of 90 feet, and covered with minute bricks which are inlaid after the manner of mosaic. There is a deep curve in the centre which some say was coeval with the building, but this is as much a matter of dispute as the slope in the tower of Pisa. Several of the mosques are said to have been Christian churches; one called Beit-ool-Tekneeti near Bâb-ool-Irâk, was undoubtedly such as far back as the year 1245. It is mentioned under that name in an historical record contained in an ancient manuscript which I discovered at Mosul. According to this document, the Church was dedicated to Mar Theodorus, and the book was written by the Presbyter Dokeek for the use of Deacons Ibraheem and Abdoon, of the house of Zorogheel, and for the noble Dadôn, in the days of Mar Ignatius, Patriarch and

successor to S. Peter on the throne of Antioch of the Syrians, and of Mar Yohanan Catholicos and Maphrian of Tekneet, Nineveh, and all the East, in the year 1557 of the Grecian era, and of the Hegira 613. The book itself was found in a coffin, together with the skeleton of a human body, which was dug up near the mosque about two centuries ago. The remains were claimed by the Syrians and re-buried in the church of Mar Tooma.

The Chaldeans have four churches* in the town, and one called el-Tâhara close to the city walls. The latter is the best built Christian church in the place, and more attention to ecclesiastical architecture is displayed in the arrangement of the interior than in any similar structure which I have met with in the East. The second volume of this work contains a view of its eastern and western ends.

The Jacobites have four churches in Mosul,† three of which are now divided between them and the Papal Syrians. There is nothing in these churches worthy of particular notice; they are for the most part massive but clumsy buildings, and in their internal arrangement similar to those already described at Diarbekir. Mutran Behnàm, however, has lately restored the Jacobite portion of Mar Tooma, which now forms a neat, and for the East a beautiful, church.

The population of Mosul according to the census of 1849 is as follows:

Mohammedans . . .	2,050	families
Chaldeans	350	„
Jacobites	450	„
Papal Syrians . . .	300	„
Jews	200	„

The only language in general use among the inhabitants of the town is Arabic, which is also spoken by all the villagers in the plains around. The Chaldean and Nestorian peasants know

* They are as follows: Mar Miskinta, Mar Shimoon-oos-Safa, Mar Gheorghees, and Mar Ishayah, which latter includes three other churches under the same roof dedicated severally to Mar Kuriakòs, Mar Yohanan, and Mar Gheorghees. The ruins of a few other Chaldean, once Nestorian, churches, are still pointed out at Mosul, an account of the principal one is given in Vol. ii.

† Mar Tooma, Mar Khoodèmi, and two dedicated to "Sitna Miriam," our Lady Mary.

also the *Fellehi*, or vulgar Syriac, and the Yezeedees near Mosul are familiar with the Coordish, which is the only dialect common to Coords, Nestorians, and Yezeedees in the mountain districts.

The classical Syriac is very little known by the Christians at Mosul. The Jacobites and Chaldeans have each a school where this language is taught, but the instruction conveyed is limited to a bare perusal of the psalter and parts of the church ritual. The Jacobites, however, frequently write the Arabic in Syriac characters, which mode of expression is called *Carshooni*. The Chaldeans do the same, but to a less extent.

The costume of the male population of Mosul differs little from that of other eastern towns, but the head-dress of the females is somewhat peculiar. It consists of a square padded cap, on the top of which is a circular cushion about two inches deep hid under a gilt-plate. This is fastened to the head and neck with a number of kerchiefs forming a species of turban, which by the younger ladies is decked with pearls and other gems. Frontlets of gold coin, elaborately wrought necklaces, anklets, earrings, and bracelets, are as much the pride of the fair sex here as elsewhere. All this display, however, is reserved for the house, as none go abroad without the hideous chequered blue sheet already described, and a square horse-hair veil, which is tied round the head and descends below the neck most effectually hiding every part of the face. Here, as in all other eastern towns, there is as much vanity in the feeling which leads the husband to provide these decorations, as in the wife who wears them, for they serve as an evidence of his prosperity, and his general importance is increased by every new contribution which he makes to his wife's trinkets. It is said that formerly the wealth of Mosul in gold ornaments alone was immense, but since then the greater part, after going through the crucible, has found its way to Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow, in payment for cotton prints.

Before leaving this part of our subject, I shall give a short account of whatever is worthy of note in the vicinity of Mosul, in order that the succeeding narrative of the Nestorian affairs may be interrupted as little as possible with extraneous matter. And instead of wearying the reader with the details of the seve-

ral excursions which we made during a residence of two years in these parts, I shall confine myself to laying before him a description of such objects as may be generally interesting.

To the north-west of the town, and just without the walls, are several sulphur springs much frequented by the inhabitants during the summer months for their supposed medicinal properties. The water is collected in two open pools, the use of which is appropriated exclusively to the male and female population on alternate days. Much is said of the benefit which persons suffering from chronic rheumatism and kindred complaints have derived from these mineral baths.

Ten hours to the south of Mosul, at a place called Hamman Ali, is another copious bituminous spring, the water of which is so hot that many faint on first stepping into it. A tolerably commodious building covers the spring, whither resort all kinds of impotent folk, who frequently come a distance of ten or even twenty days' journey to test its virtues. The tales told by the Mussulmans of the cures effected by bathing at Hamman Ali on persons afflicted with rheumatic and other chronic diseases are almost incredible.

About three hours' ride to the west of the baths is a natural well, 140 ft. deep and 50 ft. in diameter, called el-Khasfeh, in which thousands of wild pigeons build their nests undisturbed by the natives, who believe that ill-luck will inevitably follow any attempt to dislodge them. In the beginning of 1844 Mohammed Pasha determined to have a day's sporting here, and accordingly ordered all the villagers around to attend and bring their nets. With these he covered the mouth of the well, and beyond its brink formed a narrow gallery six feet high, to the inside of which a curtain was attached, capable of being let down at pleasure. After the pigeons had been driven into the gallery, the curtain was made to descend, and no less than seven mule-loads of these birds were taken. I arrived too late to witness the proceedings, but on reaching the spot we found a number of dead pigeons on the ground which the Pasha's followers had not thought it worth while to remove. This violation of the mysterious Khasfeh was the talk of the town for several days, and many ventured to prognosticate the downfall of the offender. In this instance the popular superstition was

strengthened by the almost sudden death of Mohammed Pasha a short time after.

Directly opposite to Mosul, and about half a mile from the Tigris, is the large Moslem village of Nebi Yoonas built upon one of the principal mounds of Nineveh, and in a line with Koyoonjuk. It can scarcely be doubted that many valuable relics lie buried under the modern village; but the veneration of the Mohammedans for the tomb of the prophet Jonah would deem sacrilegious and profane any attempt to excavate near the mosque which covers it, or among the graves which are scattered over the surface of the mound. The mosque itself is held to be so sacred that no Christian is allowed to enter its precincts. Through the influence of one of the Pashas my sister was permitted to visit it, and from her I received the following description of the interior: "After passing through a spacious court to a fine open terrace, we descended into the mosque, which is a square building lighted by several windows of stained glass. The eastern end is separated from the nave by a row of noble arches, giving it the appearance of an aisle.* At the southern extremity there is a pulpit of elaborate workmanship, and the floor is covered with rich carpets. A door, which is always kept locked, opens into a narrow passage about thirty feet long, from which we descended through another entrance into a square and lofty apartment with a concave roof. In the centre of this stands a box or coffin, measuring ten feet by five, and raised about five feet from the ground, on the south end of which is placed an enormous turban composed of the most costly silks and shawls. The coffin itself is also covered with equally rich materials, and is encircled by a railing surmounted with large silver knobs, on which, as also on the walls around, are suspended a number of embroidered towels and silk bathing cloths. The walls are further decorated with mirrors, party-coloured porcelain, and sentences from the Koran written in the florid style of Arabic caligraphy. In one corner are placed a gilt ewer and basin, a ball of French soap, a comb, and a pair of scissors, for

* The Christians say that this building was once a church. The order of the interior as above described, so foreign to the plan general in mosques, seems to favour the common tradition. The separation of the eastern end indicates the position of the bema.

the use of the prophet Jonah, who the Mohammedans firmly believe rises from his tomb at the set times of prayer, and performs his ablutions according to the strict injunctions of their law. The Mussulmans in general deem the tomb far too sacred an object to be approached, and for the most part content themselves with looking at it from a grated window in the body of the mosque."

I shall next conduct my readers to Nimrood, not with the design however of entering into any details respecting the interesting remains which have lately been dug up therefrom, and which have been so fully described by Mr. Layard; but in order to lay before them an account of our visit, which there is reason to believe had some influence in setting on foot the work of successful excavation. I was accompanied in my trip to Nimrood in March 1844 by Mr. Ditell, a Russian traveller, and being at Constantinople a few months after, when I related to Sir Stratford Canning the discoveries which we had made, was requested by him to draw up in writing the result of our researches. The following is a copy of what I then transmitted to his Excellency, which I shall adduce here in its original form because it gives an exact account of the mound before any attempt had been made to bring to light the hidden treasures which it contained.

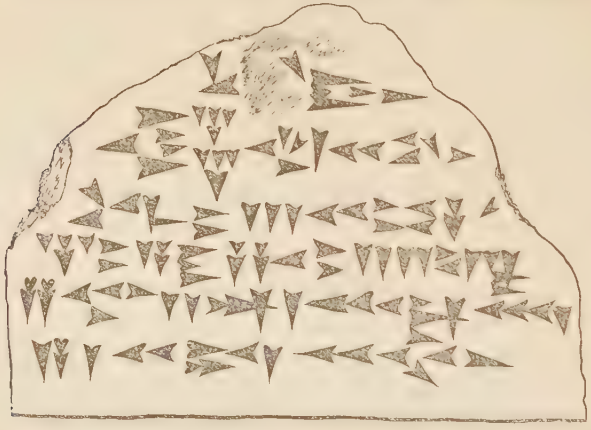
NIMROOD FROM THE NORTH.

"The mound called 'Nimrood' is situated about twenty miles to the south of Mosul, on the eastern banks of the river Tigris. We reached the large village of Sulleimîa in five hours' ride from the town, and took with us from thence several Coords provided with spades and shovels to assist us in case we should discover any thing near the surface worth excavating. Nimrood was distinctly visible from Sulleimîa, which being built on an eminence commands a wide prospect of the plain beyond in which the mound is situated. A high cone with an unbroken surface, rising above the general level of the mound, was the principal object which attracted our attention at this distance. We crossed the well-cultivated plain, and in less than half an hour reached the foot of the mound. The soil in the immediate vicinity had been ploughed, and barley was shooting up in the furrows. To our great surprise and delight we found that the ground was literally strewn with fragments of brick covered with cuneiform inscriptions, which circumstance fully confirmed the testimony of Rich, who visited the spot about twenty-five years since, and who has given several fac-similes of these fragments in his excellent 'Notes on Coordistan.' After a careful search we were obliged to relinquish the hope of finding any whole bricks in the plain, where the ground had evidently been long subjected to the plough. We next surveyed the mound: it forms a parallelogram measuring 570 paces by 450, the exterior edges rising to an elevation of 45 feet, and declining inwards so as to form a concave of the inclosed area, which was covered here and there with patches of furrowed soil, and crossed by several foot-paths. The rains, which have formed small beds through the mound, have laid bare several specimens of the ruins concealed under the superincumbent soil and rubbish. These we found to consist generally of red bricks, cemented together with bitumen, after the manner of the ruins already discovered at ancient Babylon.

"We next ascended the cone which rises from the north-east angle of the mound to the height of forty feet above the general elevation of the platform. Its exterior is quite level, except where a portion of some massive stone projects beyond the surface. At the summit is a deep fissure through which we discovered the evident remains of architecture confusedly thrown

together. As we were not prepared for the labour which it would have required to excavate here, we proceeded along the ridge of the mound in a southerly direction. About the centre of the ridge, and close by one of the modern footpaths, were a number of square stones, and among them two massive blocks, one on each side of the path, which have evidently formed part of a gateway. Here again we found numerous fragments of brick scattered about in every direction, most of which bore a number of cuneiform characters.

"Proceeding onward to the south-western angle, where a low cone or rather mound rises above the platform, we discovered a slab partly buried in the earth, and measuring three feet by five, on which we perceived several cuneiform letters. After some labour we succeeded in exhuming the stone, and found the following inscription very clearly engraven on the surface:—



"After comparing this inscription and several of the fragments found on the bricks at Nimrood, with those lately discovered at Khorsabad,* I am convinced that the character, and consequently the language of both is the same. The cuneiform inscriptions dug up at Khorsabad differ from those found at Persepolis, and in other parts of Persia, as also from those which exist in the vicinity of Van; and as far as my knowledge ex-

* I sent a copy of the inscription immediately after discovering it to Major Rawlinson, who at once recognized it as similar in character to those of Khorsabad.

tends they were thought unique until the discoveries made at Nimrood. This identity of character may be useful in deciding the age to which we are to attribute the building of Khorsabad, a subject which has hitherto puzzled all who have examined the remains found there; and if it can be established, as I believe it can beyond any reasonable doubt, that Nimrood is the ancient Larissa, then Khorsabad must *at least* have existed two thousand five hundred years ago, as the former appears to have been a flourishing city at the time of Xenophon's celebrated retreat four centuries prior to the Christian era.

"From the immense quantity of bricks which lie scattered in the vicinity of the mound, I think it probable that the ancient city was built in the plain, and that the mound covers what may have been the acropolis or temple, or some other public building or buildings similar to those of Khorsabad, the original uses of which have not yet been determined. However this may be, the indications of extensive ruins concealed under the mound are numerous and sufficiently obvious to convince the most inexperienced observer, and I hope that an attempt will soon be made to rescue this ancient city from the oblivion in which it has so long lain.

"Rich, I believe, was the first who identified Nimrood with Larissa, but, if I remember rightly, he simply mentions his conviction on this point without adducing any proof. After examining the locality with some care, and comparing it with Xenophon's description of Larissa, I fully coincide with the conclusion of Rich: Nimrood occupies the position which exactly corresponds with that of Larissa. According to the Grecian historian, his troops did not cross the Zabatus (Zab river) until late in the day, for it was 'after the soldiers had dined,' from which it is plain that the army could not have proceeded very far on their journey this side of the river: in fact, it is clearly stated that they did not travel all that day more than twenty-five stadia, or three English miles. The day following they remained in the same place, and the day after, 'having crossed a valley formed by a torrent,' they reached Larissa on the river Tigris, having had another skirmish with the Persians during their march. This torrent must have been the Bumudas (the modern Khazir), as no other stream exists hereabouts, if we except the

insignificant rill flowing from Ter Jilla. From this it results that we must look for the site of Larissa on this side of the Zab and Khazir, and supposing Xenophon to have crossed the former river by the present ferry, which is about ten miles distant from Nimrood, on the day he reached Larissa, his army must have marched seven miles (three miles from the Zab having been accomplished the day before), a reasonable distance, considering the annoyance which they received from the pursuing Persians.

"The position of Nimrood corresponds, therefore, with that of ancient Larissa, and the fact that the former is situated only half a mile from the Tigris is another argument in favour of its identity, for Xenophon describes Larissa as being on the Tigris.

"The relative position of Mes-Pylæ and Larissa, as given by the Grecian historian, is a further coincidence to strengthen our argument. Mes-Pylæ is by Ainsworth identified with the mounds upon which the modern village of Nebi Yoonas is built, and generally thought to be the site of ancient Nineveh. After referring to the intermediate distance between the Zab and Nebi Yoonas in proof of his opinion, he adds, 'a strongly corroborative proof of the identity of the Mes-Pylæ of Xenophon with the Nineveh of antiquity may be derived from the circumstance of the existence of shells in the stone of which the plinth of the wall was fabricated, it being a fact that the common building stone of this neighbourhood (Nebi Yoonas) is highly fossiliferous, while a similar stone is not met with to the northward or southward of Mes-Pylæ.' If then it is not to be doubted that Mes-Pylæ was Nineveh, or occupied its site, the distance between that place and Nimrood exactly corresponds with the six parasangs which separated Larissa from Mes-Pylæ, and there being no other mound of note existing at this distance from Mes-Pylæ, it results that Nimrood must be Larissa.

"A further coincidence corroborative of this identity, is the existence of the cone at the north-eastern angle of the mound of Nimrood, which not improbably forms the remains of the pyramid mentioned by Xenophon as standing close to the city of Larissa.

"In stating, as I have done, that Khorsabad was contemporary

with Larissa, and therefore existed at the time of Xenophon, I by no means fix the age of these cities to that period. There is good ground for believing that both may lay claim to a much older origin, for Bochart, with some reason, identifies Larissa with the Resen* of the Old Testament.

"It would be as difficult a task for me to attempt to account for the different names given to the ancient Resen, as it is to determine why Mes-Pylæ and not Nineveh was the appellation given to the capital of Ninus by the historian Xenophon. I think it likely that Larissa did not long continue to be known under that name after the retreat of the Ten Thousand. A small village called Daraoosh† (Darius) still exists between Nimrood and the Tigris, and it is not improbable that this appellation may have succeeded that of Larissa, and has been preserved in the name of the village after the parent city had been destroyed. The extraordinary character of the ruins, and their vicinity to Nineveh, affords a much easier solution of the modern title of Nimrood, by which name the spot does not appear to have been known until the period of the Mohammedan conquest. A little beyond the mound are several wells, which at certain seasons of the year throw up a large quantity of bitumen. In all probability, it was from this source that the builders of Nimrood collected the same material, which they used as cement. The produce of the springs is now claimed by the Pasha of Mosul."

The above was accompanied by the subjoined letter:—

"*Malta, 26th October,* 1844.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to forward to your Excellency a few remarks on the mound of Nimrood, which I ought to have

* I now think that Reish Aina, or Râs-ool-Ain, on the Khaboor, (the Chebar of Ezekiel,) and the seat of a Nestorian Bishop, as late as the thirteenth century, is the site of the ancient Resen. The Syriac author of the *Lookâté*, already quoted, writes: "Rehoboth is Hdheyyew, that is, Erbeel, [Arbela]; Calah is Jeirahân; Resan is Reish Aina; Arakh is Urhai, [Urfah]; Akar is Nisibis; and Kilya is Seleucia."

† This village has disappeared, and has been replaced by another, situated nearer the mound, and inhabited by Jeboor Arabs.

sent some time since, but have been prevented from doing so by press of business.

"As it is my intention to leave Malta for London on the 5th of the ensuing month, it has occurred to me whether it might not tend to induce the government to undertake the excavation of this interesting mound, if I were to lay before them such notices as I have collected respecting it during my sojourn in the east. Should your Excellency judge that my services in this respect are likely to be useful, I shall feel much obliged if you would lay the subject before the Earl of Aberdeen, and give me a letter of introduction to his lordship. At the same time, if your Excellency has no further need of the fac-simile of the cuneiform inscription which I left with you at Constantinople, I shall feel thankful if you will take the trouble to forward the same to me, at 79, Pall Mall, London.

"I have the honour to be,

"To His Excellency, &c. &c.

"The Right Hon. Sir Stratford Canning,

&c. &c. &c.

"Constantinople."

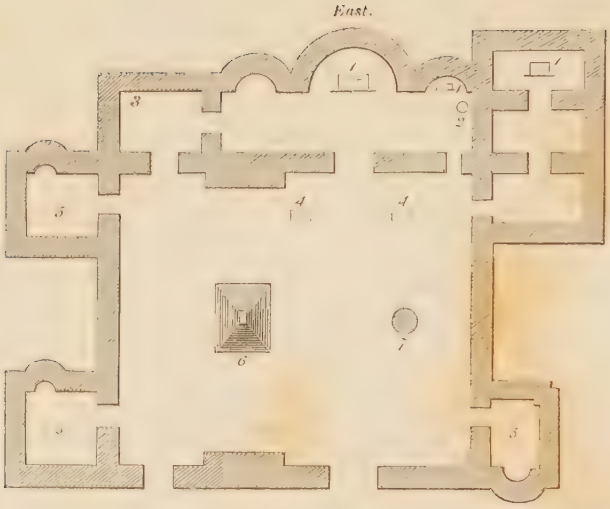
Shortly after this, Sir Stratford Canning liberally undertook the work of excavation, which was carried on under the able direction and supervision of Mr. Layard. Since then, the British Government has given its support to the measure, and Nimrood is still proving the richest mine of Assyrian antiquities which has yet been discovered. The slabs and other sculptures dug up from this mound, are in a more perfect state of preservation, and more exquisitely finished, than any which have been found in these parts. The grand task, however, remains yet to be accomplished, namely, the complete deciphering of the character, and the true exposition of the numerous inscriptions engraved on these monuments of by-gone days. Every lover of science must wish Major Rawlinson success in this laborious undertaking which he has entered upon with such zeal; and we do not doubt that, so far as the records shall be found to have any bearing upon the historical facts handed down in Holy Writ, they will supply an additional and important testimony to the genuineness and authenticity of the Old Testament Scriptures.

It having been ascertained, chiefly through the researches of the indefatigable scholar alluded to, that the language of the inscriptions is a dialect of the Semitic family, it is to be hoped that the oldest Syriac MSS. will be sought out and examined, wherein many traditions are preserved of the Babylonian and Assyrian dynasties, which may tend to corroborate the results of modern investigation.

CHAPTER IX.

Syrian convent of Mar Behnâm.—Description of the church and baptistery.—Convent of Mar Mattai in 1844.—Grave of Gregory bar Hebræus.—View from Jebel Makloob.—Ain-oos-Safrâ, a holy place of the Yezeedees.—Ruins of Nestorian convents.—Sacred beetles.—Mar Mattai in 1850.—Internal economy of the convent.—Mr. Rassam's stratagem to get it cleaned.—Chaldean convent of Rabban Hormuzd.—Alkôsh, the last seat of the Nestorian Patriarchs.—Tomb of the Prophet Nahum.—Description of Sheikh Adi, the temple of the Yezeedees.—Conversation with the guardians of the shrine.

Six miles to the north-east of Nimrood is the old Syrian convent of Mar Behnâm. This is a large square edifice, with a low entrance, leading into an open court separated by a double row of apartments intended for the accommodation of the resident monks. A spacious portico extends along the entire front of the church, which is situated on the right of the court, and measures about 50 ft. by 60 ft. The interior of the building looked so extremely wretched, that I was not prepared to find here one of the finest specimens of ecclesiastical architecture in the country. Two noble entrances, constructed chiefly of marble, and ornamented with *Estrangheli,* or ancient Syriac, inscriptions, lead into the church. The nave is divided into two unequal portions by a double arch resting on a single isolated pilaster, opposite to which is a circular column supporting a kind of canopy, raised over the entrance into the chapel, on the right of the principal sacrarium. The high altar is situated in a semicircular recess beneath a beautifully carved dome, and a vaulted roof of still more exquisite workmanship covers the apartment which occupies the south-western wing. To the left of the sacrarium is the *Beit Kaddeeshé,* or cemetery, where several Syrian Bishops are buried, and over whose graves



Ground Plan of the Syrian Church of Mar Behnam.

Ground Plan of Syrian Church of Mar Mattai.

are elaborate inscriptions cut on marble slabs and fixed into the wall. On the eastern face of the large pilaster is a full-length bas-relief portrait of Sarah, the sister of Mar Behnâm, and on the altar-screen opposite, there is a similar representation of the saint himself mounted on a horse, both of which are much defaced. The annexed plan may serve to illustrate the above description.

Twenty yards distant from the convent is the baptistery: this is a plain building, of an oblong form, with a semicircular recess at the eastern end, in which the font is placed. The font is 3 ft. in diameter, and stands about 4 ft. above the ground. A passage through the floor in front of the recess leads into a subterranean chapel containing eight small recesses, evidently intended for tombs, and covered with a neat dome. Among the monumental records, we noticed one in large Armenian characters. A sarcophagus of black marble is pointed out as the burial-place of Mar Behnâm, but the epitaph, which appears to have stood in the wall behind, has been removed. In an adjoining niche, we found a Syriac inscription, of which the following is a translation :—

> "Like the censer in the sanctuary,
> So is Mar Behnâm in his convent;
> And what rain and dew are to the earth,
> So are his prayers to our souls."

The chapel is dedicated to the "Forty Martyrs," who suffered martyrdom with Mar Behnâm.

This convent has become the property of the Papal Syrians, while that of Mar Mattai still belongs to the Jacobites. When we first visited it in 1844, it was only tenanted by a few Coords, and the whole building was rapidly falling into decay; since then, however, it has been repaired, and service is now daily performed in the church by a resident priest. According to Syrian martyrology, the father of Mar Behnâm was a Persian king, who slew him and his sister Sarah for having embraced Christianity. Sarah is still regarded as a saint, and the ruins of a monastery dedicated to her memory are still to be seen in an adjoining village, called after her Zara Khatoon, or the Lady Sarah, which is now inhabited by a few Coords.

The convent of Mar Behnâm is highly venerated by the Mussulmans under the title of Khudhr Elias, or Elijah the Seer. What relation can ever have existed between the martyr and the prophet it is not easy to divine; the Jacobites solve the difficulty by saying, that the latter name was given to it in order to secure the respect of the Mohammedans; and they further add, that this stratagem has often saved the convent when other monasteries around them have been plundered and deserted.

The internal disposition of the Church is similar to that of Sheikh Matta, which shall be described anon, and not unlike the general arrangement of the Nestorian churches, of which more will be said hereafter. The ground floor clearly shows that the division of the nave was intended a form a separate chapel, to which the *Beit Kaddeeshé* served as a sacrarium. The baptistery occupies nearly the same position here as the font in the convent of Deir Zaaferân. There must be some reason why baptism among the Syrian Christians of old was administered so near the abode of the dead.* In the modern Jacobite churches, the font is generally placed within the bema, on the south side of the altar, as in the annexed sketch. In this case, however, it is clear, from the existence of the adjacent baptistery, as also from the comparative newness of the font now in the church, that its existence there was not coeval with the original plan.

In the month of October, 1843, during one of our excursions among the Christians near Mosul, we spent two days at the convent of Mar Mattai, generally known as Sheikh Matta, situated near the summit of Jebel Makloob, and about four hours' ride from the town. Rich visited this part in 1820, but since then the convent has undergone a great change. Old Mutran Moosa, who entertained him, died a few years after, and Rabban Matta was appointed abbot in his stead. In his time, the monastery was attacked by the Coordish Pasha of Rawandooz, whose soldiers defaced or destroyed most of the inscriptions, expelled the resident monks, and plundered all the church property.

* May not this arrangement have some reference to our being "buried with Christ in baptism unto death?" Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12, &c.

SYRIAN CONVENT OF MAR MATTAI OR SHEIKH MATTA.

The ascent to the convent is over a steep and rugged road leading through a deep defile, which it took us forty minutes to accomplish from the valley below. We found the building deserted, and entirely destitute of gates or doors. A row of dilapidated apartments surround a triple court, at the end of which is the church, a very substantial edifice, differing little in its internal arrangement from that already described at Mar Behnâm, and above this is a small chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The annexed is a correct plan of the church.

We found the following epitaph in *Carshooni* (i.e. Arabic written in Syriac characters), over the remains of Gregory bar Hebræus and his brother, who are buried in the *Beit Kaddeeshé*, to the north of the sacrarium.

"This is the grave of Mar Gregory John, and of Mar Barsoma his brother, the children of the Hebrew, on Mount Elpep."*

To which are added two lines in Syriac, said to have been penned by Gregory himself during his lifetime. They run thus :—

"O net of the world, in the year 1536† thou didst catch me;
But my hope is that in 1597 I shall not be in thee."

Then again in Carshooni :—

"He reached the LORD on the 30th of August."

The scoffer Gibbon, contrary to his wont, bears this testimony to a Christian Bishop : "Some strangers of merit have been converted to the Monophysite faith, and a Jew was the father of Abulpharagius, Primate of the east, so truly eminent both in his life and death. In his life, he was an elegant writer of the Syriac and Arabic tongues, a poet, physician and historian, a subtle philosopher, and a moderate divine. In his death, his funeral was attended by his rival, the Nestorian Patriarch, with a train of Greeks and Armenians, who forgot their disputes, and mingled their tears over the grave of an enemy."

* "Elpep" is the name given to Jebel Makloob in all the ancient Syriac MSS.

† Of the Grecian era ; corresponding to A.D. 1225.

A short distance from the convent is another sepulchral apartment, at the eastern extremity of which is a large natural cave. This is the burial-place of several Syrian Bishops, whose graves are covered with long epitaphs in the Estrangheli character. Thence we ascended to the traditional abode of Mar Mattai, the founder, consisting of two narrow grots, not far from the summit of the mountain, in one of which is a small altar hewn out of the rock, and in the other an oblong niche, evidently intended for a bed. Here our guide pointed out to us two holes in the ground, which are said to have been worn by the knees of the hermit. There is a Syriac inscription over the altar, but so defaced, that we could not decipher it. On the opposite side of the mountain, are the ruins of an ancient monastery dedicated to Mar Auraha, which once belonged to the Nestorians, but is now claimed by the Jacobites.

The view from the top of Jebel Makloob is at once grand and interesting: on the north the high hills of Akra hem in the extensive plain of Navkoor, where the waters of the Gomel are seen mingling with those of the Khazir, the ancient Bumudas. The united stream may then be traced in its course round Jebel Ain-oos-Safrâ, as it meanders by many an artificial mound of Assyrian origin, and by many a modern village and encampment of Coord and Arab, until it reaches the great Zab. On the east the prospect is bounded by the snow-topped mountains which separated Assyria from the Media of old; and on the west, the Tigris is seen flowing under the walls of Nineveh and Mosul, and making in its onward progress to the south the eastern limit of Mesopotamia.

Descending a little to the west of the convent is a large natural cave called Eu-Nakoot, the roof of which forms a dripping fountain. In the front of the cave are a few trees affording a cool and agreeable shade, and much frequented by the people of Mosul during the summer months. After examining all the objects of interest in the neighbourhood, we spread our carpets in the church porch, and talked over the faded fortunes of the Syrian Christians. Sleep was out of the question on account of the innumerable gnats which seemed to enjoy our visit amazingly. Our town servants and Coordish muleteers collected themselves into a separate group at a little distance, and whiled

away the evening in singing some of their plaintive mountain airs. The moon shone resplendent till a late hour, and continued her calm and majestic course through a cloudless sky, long after the soft cadence of the Coordish song had given place to the hum of insects, and to the flittings of bats and owls, now the sole guardians of the tomb of Bar Hebræus.

The day following we took a trip to Ain-oos-Safrâ about two hours to the south-east of the convent. The spring from which the mountain derives its name, is situated on the verge of the plain where its waters are collected into a cistern swarming with small leeches and enormous frogs. This place is held in high veneration by the Yezeedees around, who have here a yearly dance in honour of one of their reputed saints. The branches of a wild fig-tree hard by were covered with rags of different colours, which we learned on inquiry betokened the visits of those people who resort hither to seek the divine intervention in their behalf. Such as are about to undertake a journey, barren women, and the sick and infirm, are the principal visitors on ordinary occasions, and these record their vows, by tearing off a shred from their garments, and tying it to the tree before mentioned. The same custom prevails extensively among the Mohammedans throughout Turkey, and it is not uncommon for the traveller to meet with shrubs and bushes on the road literally hid under these votive offerings.

Close by the spring are the ruins of the convent of Mar Gawriêl, and on the summit of the mountain we saw the remains of a similar building dedicated to Mar Daniêl, both formerly tenanted by Nestorian monks. Once a year divine service is celebrated at the latter place, and the Chaldeans and other Christians who resort thither consider it a miracle that on their first arrival myriads of beetles are seen creeping up the walls and about the ruins which, they say, entirely disappear as soon as the prayers are ended. It is affirmed, and I believe with truth, that the more superstitious regale themselves with a mess of these noisome insects before returning home.

Since our first visit to Mar Mattai the convent has been partially repaired and is now the residence of Mutran Matta and two monks. Mutran Matta is the same person who has already been mentioned as the abbot who succeeded Mutran Moosa just

before the attack of the Coords. His appointment to this place is another proof of the mal-administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Syrians; for whilst the extensive district of Jebel Toor is left to the care of three bishops, the only five Jacobite villages in this neighbourhood are formed into a diocese under Mutran Matta, separate from that of the town of Mosul, to which the episcopal jurisdiction of Mutran Behnâm is confined. We passed a few weeks here during the summer of 1850, and in that time had abundant opportunity of becoming acquainted with the internal economy of the establishment. Mutran Matta received me as an old friend, and placed at our disposal two of the best rooms in the convent. He is an illiterate man, but simple and kind-hearted, and after matins spends most of his time in superintending the repairs of the monastery and in looking after its revenue. He seemed busy all day long in attending to the crops, sheep, cows, fowls, wood, and other provisions; of which a large stock is kept for the use of the numerous visitors from Mosul and the surrounding villages who frequent the convent in the hot season. Several of these parties of pleasure thronged the place during our stay, and converted the sacred precincts into a common inn. Eating and drinking to excess seemed to be the sole object of their visit, and the noise of their revelry went on from day to day in spite of the entreaties and remonstrances of the Bishop. Every person on leaving is expected to make an adequate return for the provisions with which he has been supplied, as also for his accommodation in the convent, and the attempts made by some to avoid payment frequently gave rise to unpleasant altercation between the Bishop and the visitors. What a position this for a Christian prelate to occupy!

Mr. Rassam related to me that on going to reside for a week at Mar Mattai, three years prior to our visit, he found the interior of the convent in a most filthy state. As usual during the hot weather, the place was crowded with townspeople who only added to the accumulated nuisance and disregarded every solicitation to clear it away. What he failed to effect through the Bishop he now thought of accomplishing by stratagem, and accordingly wrote a feigned letter from the Pasha demanding of the convent, on account of government, a contribution of four hundred weight of bones to be made into manure. A mounted

attendant was directed to bring this order as coming from Mosul, and on reaching the gate he delivered the letter into the hands of Mutran Matta, who kissed it respectfully in token of obedience. Not being able to read Turkish he requested Mr. Rassam to make known to him the contents, and on hearing what was demanded of him, his consternation knew no bounds: "What shall I do? what shall I do?" said the poor bishop; "If I slaughter all the cattle of the convent they will not yield one-fourth of that quantity of bones. And where can I go to procure bones? O Consul! O Consul! use your influence to get me released from such an imposition." By this time many of the principal visitors had gathered about the bishop, who added their entreaties to his that Mr. Rassam would save them from a fine which it was impossible for them to pay. Knowing as he did the character of the Pasha, he could only promise them some abatement in the demand, say two instead of four hundred weight of bones; but even this he would only engage to do upon condition that the convent was thoroughly cleaned in the course of the day. This device acted like magic; in the twinkling of an eye, men, women, and children, some with brooms and fire-fans, others with their hands and clothes, entered upon the task, and in less than four hours not a vestige of rubbish was to be seen. Still the affrighted Bishop could not rest, and when Mr. Rassam was leaving the convent he laid hold of the reins of his horse and begged him for the sake of his church and people, not to forget to plead with the Pasha on his behalf. Mr. Rassam then disclosed to him the artifice, and the joy of the poor man on finding himself free from the threatened exaction was not a little heightened by the pleasure which he derived on looking at the altered appearance and cleanliness of his convent.

The names of the villages in this district which are under the jurisdiction of Mutran Matta are: Karakôsh, Bartolli, Ba-Sheaka, Ba-Hazâni, and Kôb near Akra, containing in all 350 Jacobite families. We visited each of these in succession, and found many both among the clergy and laity, who deplored the state of their church and wished for a reform. The complaint was that the Bishops were indifferent to their spiritual wants, and only came among them to collect tithe.

During another excursion in 1843 we visited the Chaldean convent of Rabban Hormuzd, situated in a deep gorge of the mountain range which bounds the plain of Mosul on the north, and about thirty miles from the town. We were met at the gate by the old abbot and by several of the monks, who ushered us into the convent, and spread carpets for us in the churchyard. The abbot was the same who twenty-three years before had entertained Mr. and Mrs. Rich, and he betrayed evident emotions of interest as he led us into one of the chapels and showed us the names of these travellers engraved on the walls. Since Rich's time, however, the convent has been twice plundered by the Coordish pashas of Rawandooz and Amedia. Traces of the excesses wrought by the infidel soldiery on these occasions were yet visible in the broken altars and disfigured walls of the chapels which they had converted into kitchens and stables. Everything of any value was carried away, several of the monks were inhumanly murdered, and the few MSS. which had survived the inundation recorded by Rich were torn in pieces or burned with fire.

At the time of our visit the convent contained thirty-five lay brethren and four priests including the abbot; the former are almost exclusively engaged in cultivating the fields, and in other manual labour connected with the establishment, or in collecting contributions from the villages around. The priests with one exception were illiterate men, who seemed to have no other occupation than that of reciting the daily prayers. They knew hardly anything of the contents of a few Syriac MSS. which formed the library, and confessed that the only book in common use among them was Antoine's theology in Arabic, printed by the Propaganda for the use of the Eastern Churches in communion with Rome.

According to historical tradition Rabban Hormuzd lived prior to the council of Ephesus, and was the chief founder of monasticism in this country. His name is held in high veneration by the Nestorians, to whom this, as well as all the other convents which once existed in the plains of Mosul, and are now claimed by the Chaldeans, belonged. The remains of the Rabban or monk are buried at the eastern end of the church called after his name, where his tomb now serves as an altar. In the ground

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CONVENT OF RABBAN HORMUZD

below there is a deep hole from whence earth is taken, and after being mixed with water is made into small balls of clay which are carried away as a charm by such as attend the commemoration of the saint's festival. The church appears to be the only relic of the original structure, and like all the ancient edifices of the kind in these parts is of an oblong form, with an arched roof and entirely destitute of windows. Light is admitted into it from an upper chapel reached by a passage opening into the church, in which are the tombs of many Nestorian Patriarchs. This passage serves as the *Beit Kaddeeshé*, and an adjoining apartment is still called the *Beitá d'Amádha*, or Baptistery, though not now used as such by the Chaldeans.

The tombs of the Nestorian Patriarchs are covered with elaborate epitaphs in the *Estrangheli* character, each containing a short declaration of the faith of the deceased. Wherever the confession of "two persons" in CHRIST has been inscribed on the marble, the zealous Chaldean monks have taken the pains to erase it, thus forcing the dead as it were to utter a doctrine which, while living, they professed to disbelieve.

There are two other chapels at Rabban Hormuzd of modern foundation, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and the Four Evangelists. These are simple structures, each consisting of a nave and sacrarium, the walls and altar of which are decked with tawdry pictures and other ornaments imported from Rome. The rocks around contain a number of natural caves which form the cells of the monks. The monastic order professed is that of S. Anthony, but the discipline observed is very lax compared with that of similar establishments in Egypt and Palestine. At the time of our first visit the monks were only allowed to eat meat twice a year, viz., on Christmas and Easter day; wine and spirits were also prohibited. Since then, however, the revenue of the convent has been increased by the plunder of the property belonging to the old patriarchal family, as will be related hereafter, and the Chaldeans themselves now say that none enjoy the good things of this world as much as the monks of Rabban Hormuzd. The only other Chaldean convent now in existence is that of Mar Gheorghees, two miles north of Mosul, on the eastern bank of the river, which was rebuilt by the late Patriarch Mar Zeyya, who intended to establish a school there; but the

scheme was abandoned and the convent is now tenanted by a solitary monk. Thus besides the Propaganda, where a youth is occasionally sent to be educated, Rabban Hormuzd is the only seminary for supplying the ranks of the Chaldean clergy.

An hour's ride brought us to Alkôsh, celebrated as the burial place of the prophet Nahum, and the seat of the Nestorian patriarchs after they had abandoned Seleucia and Baghdad. This is a large village containing 300 Chaldean families and two churches, one of which is now in ruins. Mutran Yoosef, who styles himself Bishop of Amedia and Bahdinan, generally resides here; but he was absent on a visit to the valley of the Supna where he has succeeded in bringing over many Nestorians to the Church of Rome. Alkôsh, however, is not under his jurisdiction, but together with Mosul and the surrounding villages forms a part of the episcopal diocese of the patriarch.

In 1850 when we again spent a day here, I took up my lodgings in the old residence of the Nestorian patriarchs, where a few of their Chaldean descendants still find a miserable shelter. Though once a rather sumptuous abode, it is now nothing better than a heap of ruins; indeed the entire village is in a very dilapidated condition and the people looked sickly and miserable. Mutran Yoosef, who has succeeded Mar Zeyya in the patriarchate since our last visit, sometimes resides here with his brother, the surgeon and doctor of the village, a tall rough-looking man,—but he was then absent at Mosul.

We next went to the so-called grave of Nahum, who in holy writ is styled "Nahum the Elkoshite,"* though it is very doubtful whether this is the site either of the prophet's birth or burial. The building is the property of the Jews: they come on a pilgrimage hither once a year during the month of May from Mosul and the surrounding villages, and generally pass a week here in praying and feasting. A Chaldean who acts as guardian, (for no Jew resides at Alkôsh,) showed us the interior of the edifice, which is nothing more than a plain room, with a flat roof supported by several arches. The tomb occupies nearly the centre of the apartment, and consists of a wooden box, covered with green cloth, and enclosed within an ornamental marble screen. On the tomb I observed several printed copies of

* Nahum i. 1.

F.C.Cooper, lith.

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SHEIKH ADI, FROM THE SOUTH

Nahum's prophecy, and on the wall beyond a long inscription in Hebrew. The identity of this spot with the Elkosh of the prophet is believed by the Christians generally, the Chaldeans only excepted. In my *booyoorooltu,* or safe conduct, which I had obtained from the Pasha, it was styled the "grave of our lord Nahum."

The next place of interest to which I shall conduct my readers is Sheikh Adi, the principal shrine of the Yezeedees, sometimes called the devil-worshippers. This place is situated about twenty miles to the east of Rabban Hormuzd, in the same mountain range, but a little farther north. A deep ravine through which runs a limpid stream, lined with oak, poplar, and olive trees, forms a shady avenue to the temple, the whitened cones of which rise up in the distance from amidst a thick foliage, giving a picturesque and lively appearance to the lonely scenery around. Following the course of the rivulet we proceeded under a long covered archway to two large basins into which two separate streams flowed from a couple of springs over which two small buildings are erected. Turning to the right we entered the outer court of the temple, shadowed by large spreading mulberry trees, with eight recesses on each side which serve as stalls or shops during the season of pilgrimage. On the heights around, which are covered with dwarf oak, are numerous dwellings, of various sizes and shapes, destined for the accommodation of the pilgrims. Here we were met by the Nâzir or Guardian of the sacred shrine, and by two male and several female attendants, who immediately recognized me as having visited Sheikh Adi six months before. The women wore a smooth white cotton turban, and a long woollen robe of the same colour. The outer habit of the male attendants was a black woollen cassock bound round the waist with a leathern girdle, and a black turban. The dress of the Nâzir was made of the same material, but his turban was white, and his girdle, in which he always carried a small axe, consisted of a chain of copper rings fastened in front by a hook of the same metal. This and the white turban seemed to form the insignia of his office.

We then passed from the centre into the inner court through a covered passage leading between two lodges, where we were requested to take off our shoes. The inner wall of this building

forms the western boundary of the temple yard, and is covered with a number of symbolical figures roughly cut on its surface. The court is enclosed on the left by a dead wall, and on the right by several small apartments, while the front of the temple, on which also are many rude engravings, makes up the quadrangle. Instead of attempting any description of these hieroglyphics, I shall refer the reader to the annexed plates where the whole is set down in detail. In one corner of the yard is the Nâzir's seat under a small niche where a lamp is kept burning during the night. On this is an imperfect inscription in Arabic, from which I could only make out the following. On one side:—

"Sultan Yezeed, the mercy of God be upon him."

And on the other side:

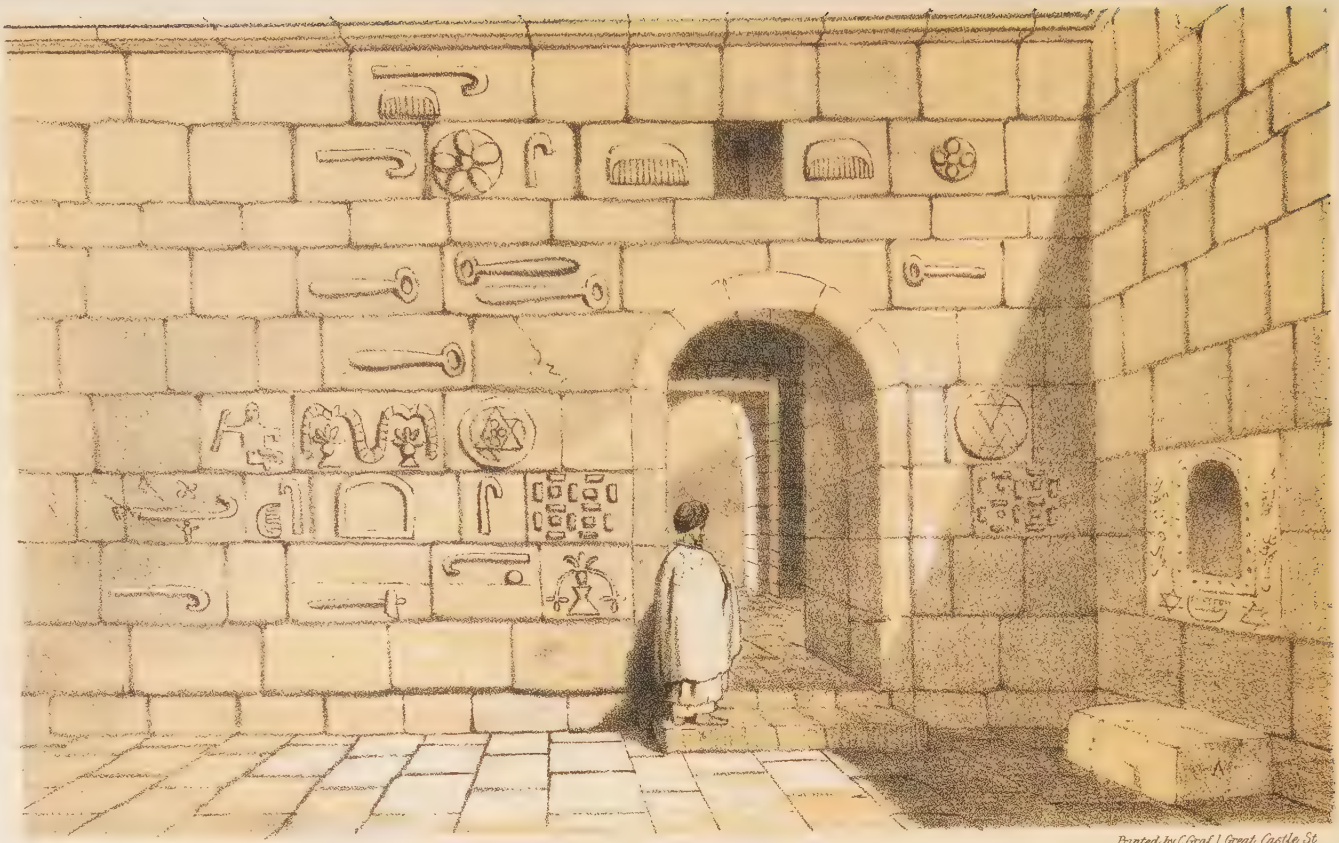
"Sheikh Adi, the mercy of God be upon him."

Over one of the apartments in the court-yard is another inscription to this effect:

"This is the epitaph of Hajji ibn Ismaeel. Blessedness is inscribed on her gates, therefore enter them in peace. Amen. In the year 1195."

A stream of water runs into a square basin in the yard floor, and thence flows under the walls of the temple; and in the niche of a raised seat hard by, we observed a number of small earthen balls, which we learned on inquiry, were made of the clay dug up from the vicinity of the principal tomb, to be taken away and used as charms by pious visitors. We were next ushered into the temple, which consists of an oblong apartment, divided into two aisles, (that on the left being raised a few feet above the other,) by a row of five arches, which support the roof. To the right of the entrance is a platform, and a square basin of running water, with a seat at each corner, evidently intended for the accommodation of such as come here to bathe.

Along the wall to the right are several empty niches, and in the aisle opposite, stands a wooden tomb, covered with a curtain. Lower down the same aisle is a large recess, with a long Arabic inscription, which, to my astonishment, I found to be a quotation from the Koran. Two openings a little beyond, lead into as many rooms, in each of which is a tomb, similar to that already



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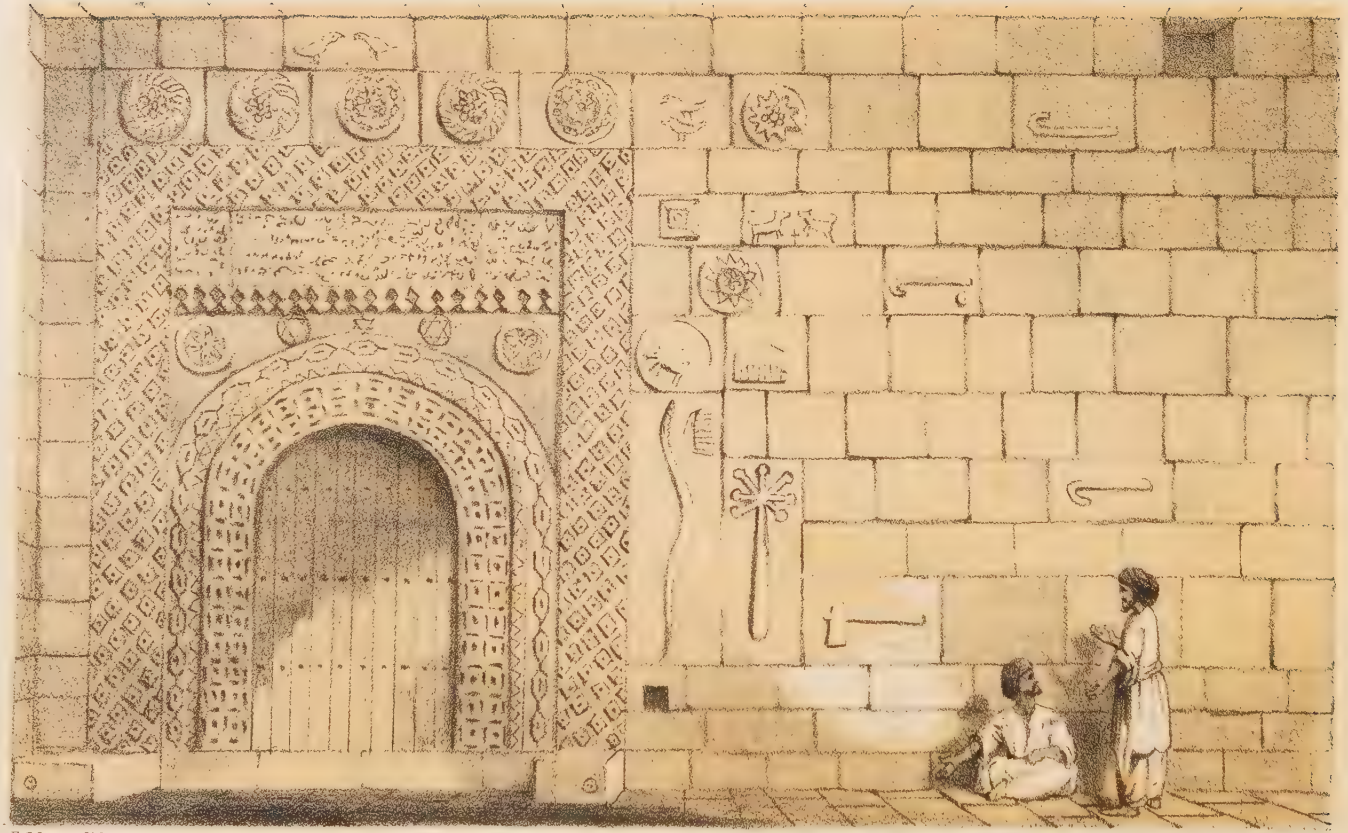
FRONT OF ENCLOSURE FACING THE TEMPLE OF SHEIKH ADI

A. Nazir's Seat



P. C. Cooper, lith.

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FRONT OF THE TEMPLE OF SHEIKH ADI

described; and in one a door to some subterranean apartment, which we were not allowed to enter. The tombs are surmounted on the roof by three cones as in the annexed sketch.

A door in the eastern extremity of the temple leads into another apartment of equal dimensions, but this we found quite empty, if we except a raised platform, on the left of the entrance. The accompanying ground plan will illustrate the above description.

In the vicinity of the temple, are scattered a number of covered walks, built without any apparent design, and from forty to fifty *Shaks*, the name given by the Yezeedees to the tombs which they profess to raise over their great Sheikhs. Almost every Yezeedee village has one or more of these monuments, which, however, are mere cenotaphs, made on the model of the different tombs at Sheikh Adi, where they tell you the reputed saints are buried. Thus, for instance, the Nâzir pointed out to us the *Shaks* corresponding to those at Ba-Sheaka, Ba-Hazâni, Ain Sifni, and other places. The subjoined is the most common form of these monuments.

YEZEEDEE SHAKS.

We found the interior of the tombs empty, and the only inscriptions were the following:

"This is the epitaph of Semdeen, the son of Sheikh Khadarset, Ziyanet [Shrine] in the year 1196."

"O Shems Ali Beg, and Faris! Be my good fortune and the good fortune of your house in this world and in the next."

If the above date corresponds with that of the Hegira, about one century has elapsed since it was set up. The Arabic inscriptions throughout are badly cut, and the language is still worse: a clear proof of the ignorance of these people.

Towards sunset, one of the attendants proceeded to fulfil his daily task of illuminating the sacred places in the vicinity. He held in his hand a copper vessel filled with cotton wicks, steeped in sesame oil, one of which he left at the entrance to each tomb, in the different covered passages, and close by every spring. These burned for a few minutes and then all was dark again. The same custom is observed by the Yezeedees in the different villages inhabited by them.

After witnessing this ceremony, we inquired of the Nâzir, whether there was any objection to our remaining the night at Sheikh Adi. This was in 1844, before which time, only one European had visited the temple, and none had ever slept within the sacred precincts. After some demur, we received his assent, and were permitted to spread our carpets in the outer court, where the Nâzir and his attendants joined us, with whom I had a long conversation, of which the following is the substance:—

Question. Where is Sheikh Adi?

Nâzir. Where is Jesus? Where is Mohammed? Where is Ali?

Q. Jesus is everywhere; but what has that to do with Sheikh Adi?

N. If Jesus is everywhere, so is Sheikh Adi.

Q. From whence is Sheikh Adi? who was his father?

N. Sheikh Adi has no father.

On manifesting some surprise at this answer, the Nâzir added: "Why do you wonder? Had Jesus any father?" I answered "no," and then proceeded.

Q. Who was his mother?

References.

A. Court.
1. Nazir's seat.
2. Recess for clay balls.
3. Basin.
B. Principal Temple.
4. Basin.
5. Tombs.
6. Reputed Tomb of Sheikh Adi.
C. Empty room.
7. Sacred passage.
8. Vault from whence the sacred clay is brought.

Ground Plan of the Temple of Sheikh Adi.

N. He has no mother.

Q. Then you make him greater than JESUS, whose mother was the blessed Virgin Mary?

N. So it is; Sheikh Adi is greater than JESUS. He is without parentage, and is from the light.

Q. When did Sheikh Adi die?

N. He is not dead, neither can he die.

Q. What will become of you after death?

N. I do not know.

Q. Do you believe in heaven and hell?

N. Yes.

Q. Who is the author of good?

Elder Attendant. Khoodé, (the Coordish for "GOD,") or Sheikh Adi.

Q. Who is the author of evil?

E. A. Melek Taoos.

Q. Will evil have an end?

E. A. N. Will evil end while the world continues to exist?

Q. But will not the world have an end?

N. Yes.

Q. How long will good reign?

E. A. Good will reign for seventy years.

Q. What will then become of Melek Taoos?

E. A. GOD will give him another place.

Q. Is it true that adultery is allowed among you?

Younger Attendant. Yes; men and women are allowed to do as they please when within the precincts of Sheikh Adi.

Q. Did Sheikh Adi commit adultery?

Y. A. GOD forbid! Did JESUS do such things?

Q. No; neither does He permit His followers to do them; but according to your admission, that is lawful which Sheikh Adi disallowed.

Here the elder attendant interposed, and contradicted his companion. He then pointed to a stone raised on the mountains above, and addressing me said: "Whenever the Yezeedees cross that limit, they are bound to forget all such things."

Q. Are you married?

E. A. No.

Q. Whose son is that who follows you about?

E. A. My brother's.

Q. Are you permitted to marry?

E. A. Yes, the Nâzir alone is not allowed to have a wife.

Q. Why did you light the wicks at the tombs?

E. A. In token of respect.

Q. When do you receive your names?

E. A. As soon as we are born.

Q. Where are you circumcised?

E. A. At the villages where we are born.

Q. When are you dipped into the water?

E. A. When we first come to Sheikh Adi, and every time afterwards.

Q. What prayers do you use at the feast of the pilgrims?

E. A. We don't pray; the *Kawwâls* pray, but we do not know what they say.

Q. Don't you worship towards the sun?

E. A. Yes, at sunrise and sunset.

I then endeavoured to obtain from them some explanation of the different symbols engraved upon the front of the temple; but their only answer was, that they knew of no secret meaning attached to them. The inscription over the entrance records the rebuilding of the edifice by Husein Beg, the grandfather of the present Emeer of that name, in the year of the Hegira 1221, and my informants stated, that the different representations of a comb were inscribed on the walls out of respect for his long beard. I have since spoken with many *Kawwâls* and others on the subject, and am of opinion, that if originally intended as mystical signs, their meaning is lost to the Yezeedees of the present day, who regard them as mere ornaments.

The Christians in these parts entertain an opinion that the temple of Sheikh Adi was originally a church dedicated to Mar Addai, or Thaddeus, of the Seventy, one of the great apostles of the East. Nothing in the arrangement of the interior favours this belief; and the adoration offered to the sun by the Yezeedees, sufficiently accounts for its being built east and west.

CHAPTER X.

Origin of the Yezeedees.—Yezd and Sheikh Adi designate the Supreme Being. —Yezeedee poem in honour of Sheikh Adi who is the Good Principle.— Emblems of the Deity: the sun, fire, and water, and how worshipped.— The Evil Principle.—Extract from Mrs. Badger's journal.—Sacred festivities.—Sheikh Nâsir and Husein Beg.—Procession of the Melek Taoos, or the symbol of the Evil Principle.—Description of this image.—Worship of the Evil Principle.—Magism in the religious system of the Yezeedees. —What the Yezeedees have borrowed from Christianity and Mohammedanism.—The five sacerdotal castes.—Their temporal chief.—Character of the Yezeedees.—Glimpse at their past history.—They are an unpromising field for missionary exertion.

During our stay at Mosul in 1842—44, we made several excursions among the Yezeedees, visiting all their principal villages in the neighbourhood, and holding frequent intercourse with the heads of their community. In 1850 we resided for two months at *Ba-Sheaka,* where we had an opportunity of witnessing many of their religious rites and ceremonies, and of gleaning a mass of information respecting them which I shall now proceed to lay before my readers.

The family name of the tribe is *Dâseni,* (pl. *Duasen,*) by which title they are frequently spoken of both by Christians and Mohammedans. They themselves also use the term, but can give no other account of its origin than that it is the ancient appellation of their race, which according to their account existed in these parts from time immemorial. Whence they sprung, from what source they derived their creed, what is meant by many of their religious observances, are subjects upon which the Yezeedees of the present day are thoroughly ignorant. In physiognomy they resemble the Coords, whose language is in general use among them, and I think it cannot be doubted that

they are of the same stock with this people, and descendants of the ancient Assyrians.

The origin of the name of "Yezeedee," by which they are more commonly known, is referred by some among them to Yezeed ibn Moawiyah, but this is only a stratagem to secure their toleration by the Mohammedans. For a like purpose one of the tombs in the temple of Sheikh Adi is ascribed to Hasan-ool-Basri, whereas I have been assured that the Sheikh who is said to be buried there was a different individual, and one of their own sect whose descendants are still living at Ba-Sheaka. The quotation from the Koran near the tomb was also admitted by several *Kawwâls* to have been introduced as a blind, and in order to prevent the Moslems from desecrating their sacred shrine. We have already noticed a similar subterfuge as practised by the Christians of this district, and hence the convent of Mar Behnâm is commonly called "Khudhr Elias," and that of Mar Mattai "Sheikh Matta."

I think it cannot be doubted that the term "Yezeedee" is derived from Yezd, one of the titles applied by the ancient Persians to the Supreme Being. "We are Yezeedees," said Sheikh Nâsir to me on one occasion, "that is, we are worshippers of God." But a difficulty then arises as to the person of him whom they designate "Sheikh Adi," and who there is every reason to believe also represents the Deity in their theology. The conversation which I held with the guardians of the temple clearly leads to this conclusion, and the same has been declared to me again and again by many Yezeedees.* In that case his tomb must be regarded as a myth, and the prefix "Sheikh"

* May not the Yezeedee "Adi" be cognate with the Hebrew אדה *Adh* or *Ad*, the two first letters in the original of Adonai, *the Lord*, and its compounds Adonijah, Adonibezek, &c.? This derivation is open to objection on the ground that the Yezeedees write the word with ע and not with א. Little weight, however, ought to be attached to this fact, since they write it so only in Arabic, of which they know but very little, and not in their own language which they do not write at all. Moreover they may have assimilated the mode of expressing the title of their Deity in by-gone days to that of Adi, one of the descendants of the Merawiyan caliphs, with whom from fear of being persecuted by the Mohammedans, they sometimes identify him. It is supposed by some that the "Sheikh Adi" of the Yezeedees, is the same with "Adi," one of the disciples of Mani; but this, I think, improbable, since there is no proof that even Mani himself was deified by his followers.

as another artifice to throw dust into the eyes of the Mohammedan persecutors. Or it may be that "Adi" was a supposed incarnation of Yezd, who appeared on earth only for a season. This opinion receives support from the fact that several buildings are erected near his shrine to commemorate the places on which he is said to have sat.

The above hypothesis receives support from the subjoined translation of an Arabic poem, which I obtained after much trouble from the Sheikh already alluded to.

"THIS IS THE EULOGY OF SHEIKH ADI; UPON HIM BE PEACE!

"My wisdom knoweth the truth of things,
And my truth hath mingled with me.
My real descent is from myself;
I have not known evil to be with me.
All creation is under my control;
Through me are the habitable parts and the deserts,
And every created thing is subservient to me.
And I am he that decreeth and causeth existence.
I am he that spake the true word,
And I am he that dispenseth power, and I am the ruler of the earth.
And I am he that guideth mankind to worship my majesty,
And they came unto me and kissed my feet.
And I am he that pervadeth the highest heavens;
And I am he that cried in the wilderness;
And I am the Sheikh, the one, the only one;
And I am he that by myself revealeth things;
And I am he to whom the book of glad tidings came down
From my Lord who cleaveth the mountains.
And I am he to whom all men came,
Obedient to me they kissed my feet.
I am the mouth, the moisture of whose spittle
Is as honey, wherewith I constitute my confidents.*
And by his light he hath lighted the lamp of the morning.
I guide him that seeketh my direction.
And I am he that placed Adam in my paradise.

* Derwishes among the Mohammedans are inducted into office by drinking a bowl of milk into which a Sheikh has spat, which ceremony is called *Hâl* by the Arabs.

The original word which I have translated "Confidents," designates literally those learned men whom eastern monarchs used to entertain at their courts. The term as above applied seems to indicate the *Kawwâls* who are the sacred poets of the Yezeedees.

And I am he that made Nimrod a hot burning fire.
And I am he that guided Ahmet mine elect,
I gifted him with my way and guidance.
Mine are all existences together,
They are my gift and under my direction.
And I am he that possesseth all majesty,
And beneficence and charity are from my grace.
And I am he that entereth the heart in my zeal;
And I shine through the power of my awfulness and majesty.
And I am he to whom the lion of the desert came,
I rebuked him and he became like stone.
And I am he to whom the serpent came,*
And by my will I made him like dust.
And I am he that shook the rock and made it tremble,
And sweet water flowed therefrom on every side.
And I am he that brought down an authentic verity,—
A book whereby I will guide the prudent ones.
And I am he that enacted a powerful law,
And its promulgation was my gift.
And I am he that brought from the fountain water
Limpid and sweeter than all waters;
And I am he that disclosed it in my mercy,
And in my might I called it the white [fountain.]
And I am he to whom the Lord of heaven said:
Thou art the ruler and governor of the universe.
And I am he who manifested some of my wonders,
And some of my virtues are seen in the things that exist.
And I am he to whom the flinty mountains bow,
They are under me, and ask to do my pleasure.
And I am he before whose majesty the wild beasts wept;
They came and worshipped and kissed my feet.
I am Adi of the mark,† a wanderer,—
The All-Merciful has distinguished me with names.
And my seat and throne are the wide-spread earth.
In the depth of my knowledge there is no God but me.
These things are subservient to my power.
How, then, can ye deny me, O mine enemies?
Do not deny me, O men, but yield,
That in the day of the resurrection you may be happy in meeting with me.

* The façade of the temple at Sheikh Adi bears the figure of a lion and serpent, as may be seen from the sketch already referred to.

† The original word is *Esh-Shâmi*, which the ignorant Yezeedees think to mean "the Damascene," and hence they frequently say that Sheikh Adi came from Damascus. The spirit of the passage has guided me in the rendering above given, which is supported by the context.

He who dies enraptured with me, I will cast him
In the midst of paradise, after my pleasure, and by my will;
But he who dies neglectful of me
Shall be punished with my contempt and rod.
And I declare that I am the essential one:
I create and provide for those who do my will.
Praise be to mine essence; for all things are by my will,
And the world is lighted with some of my gifts.
I am the great and majestic king;
It is I who provide for the wants of men.
I have made known to you, O congregation, some of my ways.
Who desireth me must forsake the world.
I am he that spake a true word;
The highest heavens are for those who obey me.
I sought out truth, and became the establisher of truth;
And with a similar truth shall they attain to the highest like me.

Confused and unintelligible as much of the above rhapsody is, it tends to confirm our hypothesis that "Sheikh Adi" is one of the names of Deity in the theology of the Yezeedees. I believe this poem to be the only fragment now extant in any way connected with their creed, and I very much doubt whether they ever had any sacred Scriptures. Their occasional pretensions to possess such must be regarded as another artifice to evade the hatred of the Mohammedans, who are taught in the Korân to consider those who are not the "people of a book," i.e. have no written revelations, as fit objects for every species of indignity and persecution. Should this, however, be a mistaken conclusion, it is an indisputable fact, that hardly one Yezeedee exists who could understand a well written Arabic treatise; their Patriarch himself scarcely knows a letter of the alphabet, and his principal scribe can just read and write the colloquial dialect. So then, if they really have any books, it is clear that they can make no use of them. The notion entertained by some, that they had a secret language of their own, seems to be without foundation.

Yezd, or Sheikh Adi, is held by the Yezeedees to be the good Deity, and to him they offer their worship, which may be divided into two kinds, direct and indirect. The former consists of a few hymns, which are handed down traditionally among the *Kawwâls*, who may be regarded as the sacred musicians and hierophants of the sect. I have heard several of

these poems repeated, but they differ little in substance from that given above, except that they are shorter, and much more unconnected. The hymns are chanted by the *Kawwâls* at their principal festivals to the sound of flutes and tambourines, which style of worship some among them have learned from the Christians to support by a quotation from the 150th Psalm. Their tunes are monotonous in the extreme, and the strain, though sometimes plaintive, is generally loud and harsh, and would be deemed any thing but melodious to one accustomed to the solemn harmony of our church music. Twice a year they make the pilgrimage to Sheikh Adi, where they celebrate their religious rites with great rejoicing and festivity. Mr. Layard was present on one of these occasions, and describes the uncontrollable excitement which prevailed among those present during the performance of the *Kawwâls*.* The above, so far as I have been able to learn, forms the substance of their direct worship of the Supreme Being.

The adoration of the sun by the Yezeedees may be regarded as a sort of indirect homage paid to the Deity. That great luminary, as being one of the noblest productions, and most powerful agents of the divine power and goodness, is looked upon by them as the purest symbol of Yezd, and hence they worship its rising and setting by kissing the ground with their faces turned either to the east or west. This is done every morning and evening by the priestly castes; but the common people frequently omit the ceremony, and some neglect it altogether. I have been informed that the duty is only incumbent upon these latter on particular occasions, such as during the pilgrimage to Sheikh Adi, when it is performed with more than common solemnity. Large parties frequently encamp at the foot of the mountain which hems in the sacred valley on the south, and begin the ascent at early dawn. As soon as the rays of the sun touch the ground beneath them, they bow down and reverently kiss a stone, which they then place upon some other close by. We crossed this mountain on our return from the shrine, and found its surface covered with these piles, which frequently consisted of eight or ten stones raised one above the other. The same practice is observed by the heathen in India,

* Nineveh and its Remains, Vol. I. p. 293.

and I have frequently seen an idol temple or pagoda surrounded with similar tokens of Pagan adoration.

Mr. Layard mentions a building and a herd of white oxen at Sheikh Adi, dedicated to "Sheikh Shems," which he supposes to be the sun. It is clear, however, that the Yezeedees so designate the place for the sake of brevity, as the entablature over the doorway records the names in full, namely, "Sheikh Shems Ali Beg and Faris," for two persons are mentioned in the inscription, which has been given entire a few pages back. In like manner the word "Shems" frequently enters into the construction of Mohammedan names.

Fire and light, as being elements cognate with that of the sun, are received by the Yezeedees as symbols of the good Deity. They never spit into a fire, and will frequently pass their hands through the flames, and make as though they would kiss and wash their faces with them, just as the Christians do with the incense in their churches. Water, also, is held by them to be a symbol of Yezd, it being a most powerful agent in communicating temporal blessings to mankind. Hence almost every fountain and spring is considered sacred, and when in their power, as those at Sheikh Adi, Ba-Sheaka, Ba-Hazâni, and others, they leave a lamp burning nightly in some adjacent niche or cave, in token of their adoration. On this account bathing is looked upon by them more in the light of a sacred duty than as an ordinary purification; and their objection to frequent the Mohammedan baths of the country has, I have no doubt, some connexion with this superstition. For the same reason they consider fish *moobârak*, i.e. blessed, the term which they apply to every thing sacred, and which reminds one of the *aghiasmata* of the Greeks. I have been informed that only a few of the lowest classes among them ever eat any produce of the waters.

The above rites and ceremonies form the sum of the religious worship offered up by the Yezeedees to the good Deity. They have no forms of prayer, and it is shocking to any Christian mind to hear them allow with the utmost indifference that they never pray. I have frequently urged upon them the duty of acknowledging their dependence on God on the ground of common gratitude, natural instinct, and what they admit to be due

to any earthly benefactor to whom they look for help, or from whom they had received any benefits. Their only answer has been: "Such is our way; as our forefathers did before us even so do we."

I think it not improbable, however, that the reverence which they pay to their so-called *Sheikhs* (I mean those over whose tombs the *Shaks* are erected), may be regarded as another form of indirect homage rendered to the Supreme Being. I have not been able to learn who these reputed saints were, and the modern Yezeedees are quite ignorant as to the time when they lived or died. The names by which they are designated, such as Sheikh Aboo-Bekr, Sheikh Mohammed, &c., must be regarded as fictitious, and invented to conciliate the Moslems, since they do not admit the mission of their prophet or the authority of the Korân, and their Sheikhs they affirm to have lived long before Mohammed. I have often inquired whether it was not possible for a new Sheikh to rise up among them now-a-days, and the answer has been a decided negative. Sometimes they affirm that the *Shaks* occupy the sites where the Sheikhs have sat, sometimes where they are buried, sometimes that they are only cenotaphs, and that the bodies were interred at Sheikh Adi, and then again you are told that the *Sheikhs* did not really die. From this I have been tempted to conclude, that these monuments may be myths, or symbols of the attributes ascribed to the Deity, or of supposed Divine emanations or incarnations.* Twice a year these festivals are commemorated at the different villages with the same rites as those observed at Sheikh Adi; a lamp is nightly kindled and left to burn in the *Shaks* called after their names, and in those to which a room is attached (as in the case of that dedicated to Sheikh Mohammed at Ba-Sheaka), the *Kawwâls* assemble at sunset every Tuesday and Thursday, when they burn incense over the tomb, and after watching a short time, and smoking their pipes, return home.

The season for commemorating the principal *Sheikhs* takes place in the month of April, and continues for eight or ten

* It is a well known fact, that many of these monuments have been raised within the last century. The four walls are first built, some time after these are roofed in, and eventually the cone is superadded. I have no doubt that the enclosure, to be mentioned presently, will ere long be converted into a *Shaks*.

days. Ba-Sheaka and Ba-Hazâni, the adjoining village, being the two places where most of the *Shaks* exist, they are the great scene of Yezeedee festivities. I was absent in the Tyari country when the chief rites were performed, but Mrs. Badger having accompanied my sister and Mr. Rassam on a visit to Ba-Sheaka, took several notes of the proceedings on that occasion, which I shall insert here as illustrative of the religious customs of the Yezeedees, and as introductory to the succeeding remarks on their worship of the Evil Principle.

"*April* 18*th*, 1850.—We took a walk through the village this morning, and noticed a small enclosure which was erected by a Yezeedee last year, and who is said to have been incited thereto by the Evil Principle in a dream. The promise made to him if he obeyed was, that all persons suffering from cutaneous diseases should be cured on rubbing themselves with the dust taken from that spot. After visiting the fountain, where we saw a number of females performing their ablutions in preparation for the coming feast, we went to the shrine of Sheikh Mohammed, situated in a pretty grove of olive-trees. Part of the court of this building serves as a kitchen, in which were a number of Yezeedees engaged in slaughtering ten sheep destined to be eaten this evening by the community. There was also a large stock of food in the place, which had been furnished by the villagers, each according to his ability, to be distributed among the poor. We next entered the shrine through a low entrance, and found there a broken cabinet inlaid with mother-of-pearl, which is said to cover the remains of the Sheikh. The enclosure round the shrine contains several other tombs, and a number of small apartments.

"This being new year's day with the Yezeedees we again walked through the villages to witness their festivities, and observed a number of wild scarlet anemonies stuck over the entrance to several of the houses. We learned on inquiry that these were intended to propitiate the Evil Principle, and to ward off calamity during the coming year. The practice reminded me at once of the blood sprinkled upon the door-posts of the dwellings of the Israelites in Egypt as a sign for the destroying angel to pass over, and it also recalled to my memory a custom prevalent among the Hindoos and Parsees of India, who hang a string of

leaves across the entrance to their houses at the beginning of every new year.

"On our return home we had a visit from five *Kawwâls* who brought with them their flutes and tambourines, and entertained us with what they styled their sacred music. During the performance they put themselves into all kinds of unnatural contortions, swinging their bodies to and fro, and uttering strains which were anything but solemn or harmonious. Mr. Rassam requested them to play some more cheerful airs, but this they declined on the ground that the day was consecrated to religious observances.

"In the evening we again visited the shrine to see the Yezeedees partake of the feast which had been prepared for them during the day; but being rather late we met the guests as they were leaving the place, some with their mouths full, others wiping them with their sleeves, and looking as if they had enjoyed themselves exceedingly. We were then invited by those who acted as waiters on the occasion to partake of the entertainment. A carpet was accordingly spread before the shrine for our accommodation, and dishes of mutton cut up into small pieces, wheat boiled in sour milk, and six new wooden spoons were laid before us. I was struck with the cleanliness of the food and the vessels in which it was served, as also with the general neatness of the people. After we had tasted of the different dishes, the place was again swept, an old Yezeedee near observing the meanwhile that 'cleanliness is next to heaven.' A number of *Kawwâls* sat smoking in the court-yard waiting the coming of Sheikh Nâsir, their religious head, who had just reached the village and was expected to conduct their sacred ceremonies the same night. We made many inquiries respecting the object of these festivities, but the Yezeedees were by no means communicative: all they informed us was that on the present occasion they celebrated the nuptials of Sheikh Mohammed, whom they believe to be married once every year.

"On reaching home we received a visit from Sheikh Nâsir, who was accompanied by a younger brother of Husein Beg, the temporal Yezeedee chief, by several *Kawwâls*, and a large retinue of servants. He appeared a very quiet humble man, with a benevolent but sorrowful countenance. He spoke feelingly of

the indignities to which those Yezeedees were subjected who were forced into the army, and complained that they were not only ill-treated and persecuted by the Turkish soldiers, but were made to put on uniform of a colour which it was unlawful for any of their community to wear, and moreover to eat prohibited food, and to frequent the bath, which for them was a sin. I understood afterwards that the colour objected to was blue, especially dark blue;* and that the prohibited vegetables were lettuce and cabbage. A new levy of soldiers was about to take place, which seemed to cast a gloom over Sheikh Nâsir and the Yezeedees generally.

"On leaving the chief told us that he should spend the night with the *Kawwâls* in the shrine of Sheikh Mohammed, where the principal religious ceremonies were to be performed. What those were we could not learn, but were told that they danced to the music of the tambourines and flutes. This evening none of the cattle were milked, but all the cows, sheep, and goats with their young were turned out into the fields, and permitted to feast themselves at their pleasure.

"*April* 19*th*.—This morning the sound of fife and drum at dawn of day announced that the recreative part of the festival had commenced; so after an early breakfast we repaired to the vicinity of the shrine near which a large concourse of Yezeedees had already assembled, all habited in their best holiday suits. The men were clad in clean and gaudy-coloured jackets and turbans, the women in silk and satin garments, their necks hung round with ornaments, and their head-dresses covered with rows of silver coin. All carried in their turbans a bouquet of flowers, among which the rose and anemone were the most conspicuous, interspersed with an occasional ostrich feather dyed scarlet. About two hundred now joined hand in hand and formed themselves into a ring round a couple of musicians who played on a drum and kind of lute. The merry strain was at first slow, but quickened as it proceeded, the dancers the meanwhile keeping time with their arms which were thrown violently backwards

* This prejudice against blue seems to spring from reverence for that colour. There is a dyeing establishment at Ba-Hazâni kept by Christians, where indigo is the only dye used. This place is considered sacred by the Yezeedees who frequently resort thither to kiss the door-posts.

and forwards as they moved round and round again, alternately narrowing and widening the circle by advancing and retreating two long and two short steps. The varieties of form and feature, the animated countenances, the rich dresses, long flowing sleeves waving to and fro and seeming to keep time with the measured paces of the performers, made up a lively scene, and reminded me of the merry-making at an English fair. No little coquetry was displayed by the younger girls both in dress and manners, and several were pointed out to me as being joined hand in hand with their future husbands. At a short distance from this group were a number of gaily dressed Yezeedees mounted on horse-back, amusing themselves with the more manly sport of throwing the *jereed*, and in running races. They soon got tired of this, however, and politely joined the ladies, into whose faces they peered with something very much akin to impudence. Many of them had evidently a particular object in view, and the musicians abetted them in the search by playing a very slow tune, so as to allow them a better opportunity of examining each damsel as she moved round in the dance. I was afterwards informed that these rencontres generally lead to matrimonial engagements.

"After returning home we received a visit from Husein Beg, the temporal head of the Yezeedees, who had come hither to join in the festivities. From what passed on this occasion we learned that much jealousy existed between him and Sheikh Nâsir, on account of the greater influence which the latter seems to possess among the Yezeedees. Husein Beg is but a stripling, and has three wives already; his father, it is said, had a new wife every week.

"Having heard that the Melek Taoos [literally King Peacock] was to be exhibited in the village, we made every effort to learn all particulars respecting it, and were informed by Sheikh Nâsir, who, together with Husein Beg and many of the principal Yezeedees dined with us this evening, that it would be brought in procession from Ba-Hazâni to Ba-Sheaka on the following day. Accordingly we sallied forth hoping to get a sight of this mysterious idol. On arriving at the outskirts of the village, we heard the sound of music, and hastening to the spot from whence it came, saw the procession slowly advancing, but no sooner did

they catch a glimpse of our party than they hid the *Senjak*.* The harsh and deafening noise of the pipes and tambourines still went on, however, and we stood silent spectators of the scene. Two *Peers* preceded the bearer of the sacred cock, carrying burning censers in their hands which they waved to and fro, filling the air with the odour of the incense. As they passed along the bystanders bowed themselves in adoration, uttering some indistinct sentences the meanwhile, and immersed their hands in the smoke with which they perfumed their arms and faces. The *Senjak* was then carried to the house of the old *Kiahya*, or head, of the village, (he having been the highest bidder for the honour of entertaining it on this occasion,) where it remained for two days, during which time all profane festivities were suspended.

"Being still anxious to penetrate into the mystery of this sacred symbol, we solicited Sheikh Nâsir to allow us to see it, which, after much ado, he finally promised, and fixed the next morning for our visit, when most of the villagers would be absent on a religious excursion to Ain-oos-Safrâ. His consent, however, was given, on condition that my sister-in-law and I should go to the house unattended. At the time appointed, a respectable Yezeedee came to conduct us to the place, which to our astonishment we found thronged with people. We were then ushered into an open recess where about thirty *Kawwâls* and *Peers* were seated in two rows. On entering, the whole party rose, and after the usual eastern salutation, coffee was served: but Sheikh Nâsir was not forthcoming, neither could we see any traces of the Cock. On inquiring whether they had not received directions to show us the *Senjak*, they replied in the negative, and further assured us that it could not be exhibited to us unless Sheikh Nâsir or Husein Beg were present. We were not a little annoyed at this disappointment, Mrs. Rassam and I having had to brook the vulgar gaze of so many men; but resolving not to be discouraged, we again sent to Sheikh Nâsir, calling upon him to fulfil his promise. The messenger soon returned to tell us that all was now ready, but that we must still go unaccompanied by any other person. We found the house more crowded than before, and were again con-

* *Senjak* is the name by which the Yezeedees generally designate this sacred image. The word means literally *a Banner*.

ducted to the recess, where Husein Beg, two Peers, and a few Sheikhs were seated. At the end of the apartment on a raised platform, was the famous *Senjak*, which we were permitted to examine as near as we chose. The figure is that of a bird, more resembling a cock than any other fowl, with a swelling breast, diminutive head, and wide spreading tail. The body is full, but the tale flat and fluted, and under the throat is a small protuberance intended perhaps to represent a wattle. This is fixed on the top of a candlestick, round which are two lamps, placed one above the other, and each containing seven burners, the upper being somewhat larger than the under. The whole is of brass, and so constructed, that it may be taken to pieces and put together with the greatest ease. Close by the stand was a copper jug, filled with water, which we understood was dealt out to be drunk as a charm by the sick and afflicted. A *Fakír* was in the room relating all the benefits that had been conferred on Christians and Mohammedans, as well as on Yezeedees, by the contributions to the *Senjak*, and calling upon all present to give liberally to the same object. The following is a sketch of the famous symbol which I committed to paper on my return home."

THE MELEK TAOOS OF THE YEZEEDEES.

According to the theology of the Yezeedees, Melek Taoos, of which the Senjak is a type, is the principle or power from whom all evil proceeds, and their religious services seem to partake much more of a propitiatory than of an eucharistic character. In this respect, their system is in accordance with the natural feelings of man in his fallen state, which lead him rather to dread punishment for his misdeeds, than to be thankful for benefits received. The Yezeedees, therefore, revere the evil principle, not out of love, but from fear, and this reverence they manifest not only by such religious rites as these already described, but by scrupulously avoiding all mention of Satan, and the use of any word implying execration. Thus, they will never pronounce the word "Sheitan," the Arabic for Devil, nor "Shat," a river, because of its resemblance to the former. Neither will they use any part of the verb "laan," to curse, nor "naal, naalbend," a horse-shoe, a farrier, because the two latter have nearly the same sound, and all express the much dreaded attribute of Melek Taoos. Their use of the scarlet anemone as a propitiatory charm or offering, has already been mentioned, and if this flower is chosen for its colour, we may see in it, as well as in the ochre with which the heathen in India daub their idols, a symbol of blood and sacrifice.

What the particular rites are wherewith the Yezeedees testify their veneration for the evil principle in their secret assemblies, I am unable to state from personal observation; but I received the following account from one who has frequently been an eye-witness of them. It appears, there are in all seven* brazen cocks, which are constantly being carried about in some or other of the Yezeedee districts. These are under the absolute control of Sheikh Nâsir, who directs their line of march, and in

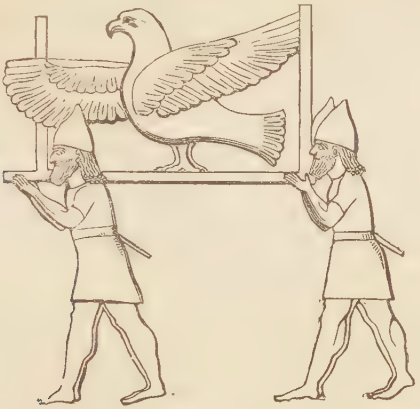
* This seems to be a sacred number with the Yezeedees. The reader will remember, that the two lamps on the *Senjak*, already described, had each seven burners. We are reminded here of the worship of the Sabeans, of whom Gibbon thus writes: "They adored the seven gods, or angels, who directed the course of the seven planets, and shed their irresistible influence on the earth. The attributes of the seven planets, with the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twenty-four constellations of the northern and southern hemispheres, were represented by images and talismans; the seven days of the week were dedicated to their respective deities." It is worthy of note, moreover, that the sceptre engraved on the front of the temple of Sheikh Adi has *seven* branches.

what places they are to be exhibited. The honour of entertaining the sacred symbol is accorded to the highest bidder, and I have heard that Sheikh Nasir is entitled to a tithe of the contributions collected on these occasions. The successful competitor having made all the necessary preparations, the cock is set up at the end of a room, and covered with a white cloth, underneath which is a plate to receive the subscriptions. At a given signal all rise up, each approaches the Senjak, bows before it, and throws his contribution into the plate. On returning to his place, each worships the image several times, and strikes his breast, as if to propitiate the favour of the much dreaded principle.

It will appear from the above, that the worship of Melek Taoos is much more common among the Yezeedees than that of Sheikh Adi. I have frequently inquired the cause of this, and the answer has been, that the latter is so good that he needs not to be invoked, whereas the former is so bad, that he requires to be constantly propitiated. As these two principles seem to form the substance of their religious creed, there can be no doubt as to its origin. "The great and fundamental article of the Persian theology," writes Gibbon, "was the celebrated doctrine of the Two Principles; a bold and injudicious attempt of Eastern philosophy to reconcile the existence of moral and physical evil, with the attributes of a beneficent Creator and governor of the world." Such was pure Zoroastrianism, which in after ages was corrupted by the Persian Magians by a various mixture of foreign idolatry. This was borrowed chiefly from the Sabeans, whose religion had been diffused over Asia, by the science of the Chaldeans, and the arms of the Assyrians. Of this people, the author above quoted says: "The flexible genius of their faith was always ready, either to teach or to learn; in the tradition of the creation, the deluge and the patriarchs, they held a singular agreement with their Jewish captives; they appealed to the secret books of Adam, Seth, and Enoch; and a slight infusion of the Gospel has transformed the last remnant of the Polytheists, into the Christians of S. John, in the territory of Bassora." It is not within the scope of this work to trace with precision, the relation existing between the modern Yezeedees and the Magians of old; enough has been advanced to show

that the religious system of both took its rise from the famous prophet and philosopher of the Persians, and the after history of the Yezeedees, their admixture with Christians, and subjection to Moslem rule, will fully account for any variations in their present opinions and rites, from those which they originally professed and practised.*

* Mr. Layard, in his "Nineveh and its Remains," (Vol. II. p. 462,) gives the annexed sketch of a bird from one of the slabs dug up at Nimrood:



to which he subjoins the following note: "The Iynges, or sacred birds, belonged to the Babylonian and probably to the Assyrian religion. *They were a kind of demons*, who exercised a peculiar influence over mankind, resembling the ferouher of the Zoroastrian system. The oracles attributed to Zoroaster describe them as powers animated by God.

'Νοούμεναι ἴυγγες πατρόθεν νοέουσι καὶ αὐταί.
Βουλαῖς ἀφθέγκτοις κινούμεναι ὥστε νοῆσαι.'

(Zoroaster, Oracul. Magn. ad Calcem Oracul. Sybill. ed. Gall. p. 80; and Cary's Fragments, p. 250.) Their images made of gold were in the palace of the King of Babylon, according to Philostratus. (Lib. i. c. 25, and lib. vi. c. 2.) They were connected with magic. (Selden, de Diis Syriis, p. 39.) It is possible that the bird borne by warriors, in a bas-relief from the centre palace, may represent the Iynges."

There can be little doubt, but that the Melek Taoos is in substance the ferouher of Zoroastrianism; and I think it very probable, that this image is used for purposes of divination in the secret assemblies of the modern Yezeedees. The worship of a bird appears to have been a most ancient species of idolatry; it is condemned expressly in Deut. iv. 16, 17: "Lest ye corrupt yourselves and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure . . . . . the likeness of any fowl that flieth in the air."

I am of opinion, however, that the modern Yezeedees have borrowed little from Christianity beyond what was incorporated into their system by their more learned and zealous forefathers, when the Gospel was first proclaimed in these parts. Their professed reverence for our blessed LORD seems to arise more from the difficulty of withholding from Him the honour which is universally ascribed to His character and dignity, than from any knowledge which they possess of His person or mission. In this respect, indeed, they are profoundly ignorant, and their confession of Isa, the Son of Mary, is much more undefined and imperfect than that of the Mohammedans. It is true that they affect more attachment to Christians than to Mussulmans; but this may be fully accounted for on other ground than that of any sincere respect for Christianity. For ages the Christians have been co-sufferers with them, they have lived under the same yoke of bondage and oppression, and this community of endurance has doubtless tended to engender something akin to sympathy between the two parties.

Beyond this vague acknowledgment of the SAVIOUR of mankind, and an equally uncertain homage which they profess to render to the prophets and apostles, as well as to the Old* and New Testament Scriptures, the Yezeedees practise no rites distinctively Christian. Their ceremonial washings at Sheikh Adi, which have been thought by some to be borrowed from the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, have a much closer resemblance to an almost universal practice among the heathen, who deem it an act of devotion to bathe in the pools near which their temples are erected. And not only are these ablutions repeated at every new visit to the shrine of Sheikh Adi, but many other streams and ponds are held sacred by the Yezeedees, and are frequented by them on particular occasions for the same purpose.

Mr. Layard is mistaken when he states that the "Yezeedee year begins with that of the eastern Christians." It began this year (1850) on the 17th of April, and the inscriptions on

* The cosmogony of the Yezeedees is different from that of the Old Testament Scriptures. They sometimes speak as though they agreed with us on this subject; but I am persuaded that they believe the world to have existed long before Adam. From several remarks which dropped from their Sheikhs, I am inclined to think that they hold the eternity of matter.

all their monuments are dated from the Hegira. The festival of the new year must always be kept on Wednesday, which with Friday, they seem to consider the most sacred days in the week. The service already described as being performed at the *Shaks* of Sheikh Mohammed every Tuesday and Thursday after sunset has respect to these two days,—as the day with all easterns begins at that time. Friday, however, may be observed to conciliate the Mohammedans. None fast on these days, nor do any abstain from work; in fact the visit of a few *Kawwâls* to the village shrines seems to be the only rite by which these days are hallowed. The only fast of the Yezeedees is kept for three successive days in the month of December, when they profess to commemorate the death of Yezeed ibn Moawiyah. This also I consider another artifice to conciliate the bigotry and intolerance of their Mohammedan rulers. Their seeming neglect of this exercise may be regarded as another feature of Magism, since Zoroaster, as is well known, condemned fasting as a criminal rejection of the best gifts of Providence.

Sufficient has already been said by way of accounting for the different traces of Mohammedanism which are to be met with in the creed and practices of the modern Yezeedees. My conviction is that they have no real respect for any of the distinctive doctrines of Islâm, and if a few of their *Fakîrs* have learned to read a chapter or two of the Koran, the unwelcome task has been undertaken with the same object, viz. in order that their sect may be the more readily tolerated, or for the sake of learning the language of their rulers. Circumcision cannot be regarded as a distinctive Mohammedan rite, nor is it deemed indispensable by the Yezeedees. The large tribe of the Khaletiych on the Tigris about Radhwân do not practise circumcision, nevertheless they are held to be orthodox Yezeedees.

The sacerdotal order of the Yezeedees, like that of the Magi of old, is extremely numerous, and is divided into five castes which are prohibited from intermarrying, and are thus kept distinct. The first in dignity is Sheikh Nâsir, who may be regarded as the patriarch or supreme Pontiff of the whole sect. This office is hereditary in the family, and generally descends to the first-born son. It is the province of the Great Sheikh to direct all the religious affairs of the community, to lead in their

sacred rites at certain times, and to send teachers to the different districts. The present incumbent possesses considerable property, and engages in extensive agricultural pursuits. Twice a year he visits most of the villages in the neighbourhood to collect contributions in the shape of free-will offerings, and he commissions deputies to the more distant provinces for the same purpose. The Yezeedees believe him to be endued with supernatural powers, and his mediation is often sought to heal obstinate diseases in men and cattle, to make the barren fruitful, to crown a journey or other undertaking with success, &c. which he affects to do by charms and other occult means. Mohammed, Mr. Rassam's *Kawass*, or orderly, who is a strict and sincere Mussulman, and cordially hates all unbelievers, especially such as possess no books, assured me that his wife Miriam, originally a Yezeedee, was cured of epilepsy by Sheikh Nâsir. He had tried the native physicians, the piety of the Moollahs, and afterwards the skill of an able Frank surgeon, who treated her for several months; but all to no purpose. At length, in spite of all his prejudices, he took her to the great Yezeedee Sheikh, who, he informed me, first directed him to slaughter a sheep, with the blood of which he sprinkled her forehead, then covered her breast with a coating of bitter clay brought from Sheikh Adi, tied a string over her left wrist, and kept her in a separate room for seven days, feeding her upon a particular kind of bread which he prepares with his own hands. Several years have now elapsed, and Mohammed declares that his wife has never had a single attack since she left the roof of Sheikh Nâsir. Knowing his antipathy for the Yezeedees, I asked him how he accounted for the possession of such power by an unbeliever. "It puzzled me very much," said he; "but on applying to Moollah Sultan for a solution of the difficulty, he told me that it was natural that the unclean should cast out the unclean!"

Sheikh Nâsir sometimes takes part in celebrating the marriages of persons of distinction among his community. The contract is generally settled by the relations of the two parties, but the bond is sealed by the bridegroom going to the Great Sheikh, and receiving from him a loaf of consecrated bread, half of which is eaten by himself and the other half by his bride.

The *Peers* and *Kawwâls* are empowered to exercise the same functions, for which they receive a fee. Sheikh Nâsir is also occasionally solicited to preside over the funeral rites, which are more generally conducted by the *Kawwâls* and Sheikhs. These are extremely simple, but in one respect peculiar: when a Yezeedee is about to die, a *Kawwâl* is called in, who pours into his mouth a quantity of water; if he happens to die before this ceremony can be performed it is reserved till the body is brought to the grave.* Whilst the corpse is laid out in the house, the *Kawwâls* chant one or two hymns to the sound of their sacred instruments, and then precede the funeral procession to the grave, burning incense as they go. Morning and evening for several successive days the male and female relatives of the deceased repair to the grave in distinct parties, the women to weep and mourn, and the men to burn incense, and watch a short time in silence round the spot. It strikes me that these rites go to support the hypothesis already advanced, and that as a symbol of Yezd or Sheikh Adi, the life-giving principle, the infusion of water is intended to typify, or is supposed to convey, vitality after death. Some would fain deny it for fear of reproach, but I think there can be no doubt that the Yezeedees hold the doctrine of the metempsychosis.

The next in dignity are the Peers, or Elders, who are few in number compared with the other minor orders of the priesthood. In a subordinate degree they are supposed to possess the powers, and permitted to exercise the functions of the Pontiff, and frequently act as his deputies.

The Sheikhs may be regarded as the scribes of the sect, though few of them can write. Sheikh Nâsir, who has already been mentioned as having furnished me with the eulogy of Sheikh Adi, belongs to this order, and is perhaps one of the most learned among them. He can spell over a few chapters of the Koran, and write a tolerable hand; but he could not explain to me the meaning of several words in the Yezeedee poem.

The *Kawwâls*† have been so frequently brought before the reader in the exercise of their peculiar office, that little further

* The reader will here remember a practice common among the Brahmins of India, who pour water from the Ganges into the mouth of the dying.

† *Kawwâl* literally means one who can speak fluently, an orator.

needs to be added under this head. They are the musicians of the community, and as music and dancing form so important a part in the worship of the Yezeedees, theirs is the most numerous of all the sacerdotal castes. They are confined to the villages of Ba-Sheaka and Ba-Hazâni, but are frequently sent to other parts to conduct the religious services of the people, for which they receive remuneration.

The *Fakîrs* are the lowest order in the Yezeedee hierarchy; it is their province to minister at Sheikh Adi, as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and to attend the *Cock* in its peregrinations. They carry a band on their left shoulder with which they tie up the faggots for the shrine, and are sometimes called *Kara-bash,* or Black-heads, from always wearing a turban of that colour. They are also employed in collecting contributions for the temple, and in this respect they resemble the begging friars of monastic establishments.

Besides the above, the Yezeedees have a temporal chief, which dignity is also hereditary and confined to one family. Husein, the present Emeer, exercises a kind of conventional authority over the entire sect, and is the medium through which the local government communicates to them its wishes and orders. He exercises great influence among them, and, what appears rather strange, possesses the prerogative of cutting off any refractory member from the privileges of the community. From all I have heard, this punishment imposes far greater penalties upon the offenders than the severest form of excommunication as practised by Christians, and is much dreaded by the Yezeedees.

I shall now add a few words on the general character of this people. The Yezeedees, particularly those in the district about Mosul, are a very industrious race, clean in their habits, and quiet and orderly in their general behaviour. Many of them, however, are very intemperate in the use of arrack, and some make a boast before Christians of the superiority of their religion to that of Islâm, inasmuch as it does not prohibit the use of intoxicating liquors. Drunken broils, however, such as are, alas! too common in our own land, are almost unknown among them, and the native Christians with whom they dwell, bear witness that in their general intercourse with other sects, they are comparatively free from many of those known immoralities which

pollute the lives and conduct of Mohammedans; though it is said that great lewdness secretly prevails within the limits of their own community. This is a natural result of polygamy, which is allowed among them to the extent of three wives, to the facility of obtaining divorce, and particularly to the frequency of incestuous marriages. Instead of being deemed a crime, it is generally thought desirable and praiseworthy, for a man to marry his sister-in-law, and for a woman to marry her brother-in-law.

During the government of the different hereditary pashas of these districts, and when anarchy frequently prevailed throughout the country, the Yezeedees occasionally got the upper hand, and the people of Mosul still remember the time when Christians and even Mohammedans did not dare to enter the mountain-pass in which Sheikh Adi is situated, for fear of being robbed or murdered. The Yezeedees of Sinjâr were the terror of all caravans and merchants travelling through the desert, few of whom escaped without being attacked and plundered. In 1832 the Coordish pasha of Rawandooz, instigated thereto by religious fanaticism and a thirst for booty, fell upon those inhabiting the plains, burned their villages, carried many of them away captive, and on the mound of Koyoonjuk massacred several thousands in cold blood who had fled thither, hoping that the people of Mosul would offer them a refuge within the city walls. About six years later Mohammed Pasha led an army against the Yezeedees of Sinjâr, and after several defeats finally succeeded in crushing their power, and in reducing them to abject submission by the most cruel and barbarous measures. And as late as 1844, when Jebel Toor was under the government of Bedr Khan Beg, the Yezeedees of that district were subjected to the most wanton oppression by that tyrannical Coord, in order to force them to embrace Islamism. Many underwent imprisonment, stripes, and other indignities, and a few suffered death, rather than renounce their creed; but seven entire villages became the professed followers of the False Prophet.

The *Tanzeemât Khairiyyeh*, or Beneficial Ordinance, lately issued by the Sultan, has wrought a great change in the local administration of the Turkish provinces, and the Yezeedees are now free from many of those exactions and hardships under which they formerly laboured. An imperial edict has also been

issued permitting such as were made Mohammedans by force to return to their own creed; and the Yezeedees in Jebel Toor are just beginning to recover from the effects of their former servitude and oppression.

It has been my lot to know much of this people under their adverse as well as under their more prosperous circumstances, and my conviction is that they present the most unpromising field I know of for missionary exertion. They are ignorant to a proverb, and entertain the strongest prejudices against learning of every kind. They are neither communicative nor frank when inquired of respecting their own religious system, and manifest the greatest indifference whenever any attempt is made to expound to them the doctrines of Christianity. With God all things are possible; but humanly speaking there seems little hope of the conversion of these heathen until the native churches shall have risen from sleep, and again trimmed their lamps with a zeal and love such as were exhibited in the early Nestorian missionaries, who carried the glad tidings of the Gospel into the wilds of Tartary, and planted the banner of the cross among the refined pagans of China.

CHAPTER XI.

Founding of the Christian Church in the East by Mar Addai and Mar Mari, of the Seventy.—Its relation to the See of Antioch.—It is raised into a separate Patriarchate.—History of the Eastern Church under the Sassanian rulers and the Caliphs of Baghdad.—Hereditary succession to the Patriarchate introduced.—Divisions arise about the Patriarchal succession.—A separate Primate is established in Coordistan.—A schism is created by Roman missionaries among the Nestorians of Diarbekir, where a new Patriarchate is set up by the Pope.—Dissensions arise among the Nestorians of the plains, whose Patriarch secedes to Rome.—Account of this secession, and of the events which followed thereupon, as given by Mutran Hanna the Patriarch, in his autobiography.—Unfair proceedings of the Court of Rome.—The convent of Rabban Hormuzd is reopened.—The monks oppose the Patriarch, who is first suspended and afterwards restored by the Pope.—The Abbot of Rabban Hormuzd sends five monks to be consecrated Metropolitans by Mar Yoosef, the Chaldean Patriarch of Diarbekir.—Confusion ensues.—Mutran Hanna is imprisoned and again restored to his See.—Death of Mar Yoosef V.—The monks appeal to Rome against Mutran Hanna, who is confirmed in his dignity, but not allowed to consecrate any of his relations to the Episcopal office.—Consequent abolition of hereditary succession.—Mutran Hanna's nephew is consecrated Metropolitan by Mar Shimoon, probably by the secret advice of his uncle.—He soon abjures Nestorianism.—Death of Mutran Hanna.—The Chaldean Bishops proceed to elect a new Patriarch, but cannot agree in their decision.—The Pope appoints a successor.—Reasons for the appointment of Mar Zeyya.—The Chaldeans of Mosul desire a reform.—Alarm excited among the Romanists by this movement.—The Chaldean sect is recognized by the Porte.—Bad treatment of the old Patriarchal family by the Romanists.—Causes which led Mar Zeyya to resign the Patriarchate.—Mar Yoosef succeeds him.—Hierarchy of the Chaldeans.—Their different dioceses and population.—Their present condition.—Origin of the title "Chaldean," and its proper application.

I SHALL now enter upon the principal design of this work, premising, however, that as my chief object is to lay before the Church the present condition of the Nestorians, no more will be said of their past history than may appear necessary to

illustrate and explain the references which shall be made thereto in the following narrative.

According to ecclesiastical tradition, Mar Addai and Mar Mari, of the Seventy, were the founders of the Christian Church in Chaldea and Mesopotamia. The latter is regarded by the Nestorians as their first Patriarch; from him they derive the validity of their present sacerdotal orders in an unbroken line of spiritual descent, and to him and Mar Addai, his companion in the work of evangelization, they ascribe the authorship of one of their three Liturgies or Communion Offices. The following is a summary of the labours of Mar Mari, taken from the history of Sleewa ibn Yohanna, a Nestorian author, who lived in the early part of the 14th century.* After founding the Eastern See at Ctesiphon, then the seat of the Persian monarchy, and inhabited chiefly by Magians, Mar Mari discipled Doorkan and Cashgar, and travelled on the same mission through the two Irâks, El-Ahrâz, Yemen, and the islands of the Arabian and Indian seas, converting many heathen to Christianity, by his preaching, and by the signs and miracles which he wrought, and forming them into churches. On his return to Ctesiphon, he ordained that that city should be raised into a Patriarchal See, and before his death, which took place A.D. 82, he intimated that his successor was at Jerusalem, and should be sought for there.

Accordingly, after the decease of Mar Mari, the company of the faithful sent to the Holy City, to Simeon, who succeeded James, the brother of the LORD, as head over the Church there, requesting him to send them a Patriarch. The person elected was Abrees, who was consecrated at Jerusalem, and sent to Ctesiphon, A.D. 90. Abrees died during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, having filled the Eastern See for the space of seventeen years.

* I am indebted to the same source for the notices which follow respecting the immediate successors of Mar Mari in the Eastern Patriarchate. A copy of this rare and valuable MS., containing a catena of the Eastern Patriarchs up to the time of the author, with biographical and historical sketches attached to each, fell under my observation after these pages were prepared for the press. Should a second edition of this work be called for, an opportunity will be afforded for embodying therein from the above-named MS. some interesting and important annals of the early Christian Church in Chaldea, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, hitherto but little known to western historians and theologians.

After the lapse of twenty-two years, Abrahâm, a kinsman of James, the brother of our Lord, was appointed to succeed Abrees, and ruled over the Church in the East from A.D. 130 to A.D. 152. During his supremacy, the Christians were sorely persecuted by the Persian king, who was instigated thereto by the Magians. His successor was Yaakoob [James], who also was of the kindred of Mary, the Blessed Virgin. Previous to his death, he gave direction that two of his disciples, Kam-Yeshua and Aha d'Abhooi, should go to Antioch, in order that one of them might be consecrated Patriarch there. They accordingly went, but were seized as spies of the King of Persia, who condemned them, together with Saleeba, the Patriarch of Antioch, to be crucified before the church in that city. Aha d'Abhooi, however, escaped to Jerusalem, and was consecrated there by Mattiâs, the occupant of that See, in the church of the Resurrection. He reached Ctesiphon A.D. 205, and presided over the Christians of the east for fifteen years.

After another Patriarch had been set over Antioch, it was agreed upon by the Patriarchs of the four great Sees, that the Eastern Patriarch elect should not again come to Antioch to be consecrated, but that the Metropolitans, Bishops, elders, and faithful, should choose him who was to fill the See, and ordain him thereunto in the church at Ctesiphon.[11] The subjoined is a translation of the Epistle* which was written on this subject by the four Western Patriarchs, who occupied the four great Sees, to the Eastern Church:—

"To the brotherhood in Christ our Lord, Who is the Saviour of men, the Restorer of the primeval fall, and the Receiver of repentant sinners:—to the members of Christianity dwelling in the East:—From your brethren in the faith, and ribs with them in the degree [of the Priesthood], and their associates in prayer—the company of the afflicted shepherds to

* Of this Epistle Mar Abd-Yeshua writes: "In the days of Papa a letter was written by the Westerns raising this Eastern See into a Patriarchate. The letter was sent with all honour by the hands of Agepta of Elam." See Vol. II. App. A. Part 4. There is a discrepancy in the date of the document as given by Sleewa ibn Yohanna and the author just quoted, the former referring it to the time when Aha d'Abhooi was Patriarch, about A.D. 205, and the latter to the Patriarchate of Papa, about forty years later.

whom is committed the feeding of the sheep of JESUS CHRIST, the drivers away therefrom of the ravening human wolves, and their preservers from the crafty wiliness of the spiritual ones who are moved thereto by the deceit which is from without, who are not living in the love of GOD,—the Peace of our SAVIOUR from the curse of sin, and the Visitor of our race through the Communion of the TRINITY, be with us and with you throughout all ages. Amen.

"We who, being unworthy, have been appointed shepherds in the Church of CHRIST, and are styled Heads therein, and have been constituted Fathers of the flock, and brethren of the Heads, in an excellent manner, do ordain for you a profitable ordinance, the end and design of which is praiseworthy and excellent, since you are our brethren, the children of the baptism of our LORD CHRIST, especially in this age in which we have filled up the troubles which you have endured. For in truth your trials have been multiplied, and the fountains of adversity have been opened, and many have been moved, and some have been overcome thereby. Wherefore we, the company of afflicted Shepherds, being grieved on your behalf, have compassionated you the congregation of believing brethren and children, and have been reminded of the declaration made in that Book which speaks to us and guides us, which also tells us, that the despised is rejected of men; especially is this true of Christianity, since all the nations contemn it, and strive to destroy it. Moreover, when we beheld the slaughter of the two holy Fathers and excellent Shepherds, how they were ignominiously treated, having been crucified by the door of the church at Antioch, though they had done nothing to deserve such punishment, and were guiltless of any treachery, all hearts bewailed them and choked up, all eyes wept for them and were hot with weeping, all spirits trembled and were confounded, and the earth was moved and was shaken, and the two Churches of the East and West bewailed and lamented with bitter lamentations, for the fate of these renowned Fathers; one a Shepherd of the Eastern Church, and the other a companion and Shepherd of the Western Church, whose murder was notorious, and their ignominy seen of all, whereat the corners of Christianity were shaken, and sorrow overwhelmed it.

"Wherefore we the Fathers, in the unity of the SPIRIT, have met together, and have agreed together in one opinion, and have permitted that, on the decease of the Head of the Metropolitans and Bishops, who is set over the Eastern flock of the churches of Ctesiphon, the protected city, in which is the magnificent cathedral church, his successor in the supremacy shall not go up to Antioch. This decree we have made with one accord, in behalf of Christianity, to prevent the Heads thereof from being despised, as a protection to them, and for fear of the opposition of kings, and that the faith may not be endangered, that he who is to be made Patriarch shall be elected by his Metropolitans, Bishops, and flock. This is our opinion, and ordinance, and will, respecting the flock of the Head whose See shall be Seleucia and Ctesiphon, which is the borders of Karak in the plain of Seleucia, in the great church: that he be the Head, the Patriarch, over all the Bishops of the East, and its dependencies; and that his See be as one of the Four Sees, and the last of them, of which one is the See of Matthew the Evangelist; the other that of Mark, who also wrote as he did; and the third the See of Luke, the learned and acute, who completed the exposition of our LORD'S Gospel and birth; and the fourth the See of John, the bold, who revealed the mystery of the Eternal Filiation, and was filled with the graces of the SPIRIT. To him shall appertain the consecration of Metropolitans, the benediction of Bishops, the administration of the affairs of the flock, the ordination of the Heads in the Eastern borders, in Athoor, and Media, and Persia; all these Sees shall be subject to him, shall submit to his authority, listen to his orders, and do his bidding. And when this Head, who is made Patriarch by his Metropolitans and Bishops, shall depart out of this world to the kingdom above, the Bishops shall not proceed to elect any one to the Patriarchate, unless there be one or two Metropolitans present, since it is not for the children to beget their fathers, neither is the perfect blessed by the lesser, even as Abraham, though he was great in the sight of GOD, did not refuse to be blessed by Melchisedec (upon whom be peace!); but Abraham (upon whom be peace!) humbled himself to him, bowed his head, and received a blessing from Melchisedec, to whom also he gave tithes of his sheep, because he

was a king, and his name was 'King of purity and peace.' Moreover he was the first to whom bread and wine were offered, —a type of what our SAVIOUR commanded His disciples to do, —which elements were to be in the place of His sacred Body, and pure Blood shed for the redemption of the world. And, when all the Metropolitans and Bishops shall have agreed together, let them assemble those whom time will permit to be convened, and let them commence with prayer, and we will be with you in prayer, and in Christian sincerity, concord, and unity, and let them elect one who is known to be praiseworthy, pious, pure, undefiled, righteous, chaste; one who fears GOD and keeps His commandments in love, and willingly, who is obedient to Him, learned in His laws, and observant of His precepts. Over him let the Metropolitans first, and then the Bishops, read the appointed and accustomed prayers, and thus shall he become the Father of the Fathers, the Shepherd of the Shepherds, the Patriarch, the ruler of the people in the East and the confines thereof.

"And now we, the unworthy, the rulers of the House of GOD (may His Majesty be exalted), and the Shepherds of the rational sheep have permitted,—by the permission of GOD, and the will of His SON and CHRIST, Who, by His Divinity created all creatures, and the love of His Spirit the giver of all good gifts, and the guider into all truth,—and, being met together in one bond of agreement, and in unity of opinion, have committed the Headship and Patriarchate over the Metropolitans and Bishops, to him who shall occupy the glorious See, in the great church of Kokhé in the borders of Seleucia in the east, and over the Church there which is founded on the true and excellent faith, and the orthodox and right belief. And this our commission, will, permission, ordinance, and sanction, shall be applicable to every one who shall become Patriarch in that honourable See until the appearing of our LORD CHRIST in His great glory. None may alter, change, abolish, or remove it; none shall shake its foundations, or falsify its ordinances, or oppose it, neither shall it be subjected to any superior order. Willingly we have confirmed and sealed it by the authority of heaven and earth committed unto us, and the exalted glory which has been poured out upon us. It shall not be lawful for any one, by the Word

of God the Creator, which is sharper than a two-edged sword, and which reaches to the inmost heart, piercing to the dividing asunder of the members, to oppose it, abridge it, or counterfeit it. And, whosoever shall thus offend, shall be excluded from all Christian laws, and from a participation in all Christian privileges.

"Furthermore, the elect head who shall be found fit for this noble dignity, and shall fill this glorious See, shall consecrate Metropolitans, and perfect the ordination of Bishops. These he shall choose from such as keep the ordinances and customs, and who are not opposed to the statutes drawn up by the Holy Fathers and elect Shepherds who confirmed the truth with their blood, and who were under the guidance of the Spirit. Nevertheless he shall not ordain a Metropolitan or Bishop unless there be two Bishops with him. And when a Bishop is ordained by a Metropolitan, he shall not take his place with the heads until he shall have presented himself before the Father of fathers, the chief of the flock, the reverend Patriarch, who shall bless him, and confirm to him the episcopal authority, even as the companions of Aaron were presented to Moses the prophet. And when he is to be ordained, let there be read over him the chapter of the head of the twelve, the Cephas of the Church, and the foundation of the law, wherein our Lord delivered to him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and His authority to bind and to loose, to set up and to bring down, in things above and things below, in heaven and in earth. Let this be a covenant and testimony to him of his having been gathered, and of his authority to do what he has heard of Him. Over the Supreme Head, the Chief of the chiefs, the appointed prayers shall be read, after which let his calling be relied on, for he is the diadem of the Church, and the crown of the priests, and the excellency of the flock. Then they shall invest him with the garment of perfection, and deliver unto him the staff, and bid him to put his trust in God, to obey His Christ, to observe what He has commanded, to be zealous in the discharge of the office confided unto him, to walk in the way of the righteous, and to turn away from the path of the ungodly.

"But should the Patriarch transgress in his office, and turn aside from God in his rule, and be found deceitful in his belief, then, if there be a king at the head of Christianity at the

time, let the matter be referred to him, that he may order him to appear before him, and confront him with the assembled Metropolitans and Bishops, (although it be a disgrace that one to whom the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the forgiveness of sins, have been committed, should be thus judged.) But if the Christians have no king, then let his condemnation be deferred till the coming of our Lord Christ, who is the Judge of kings, and the Lord of all nations.

"This covenant we have drawn up, sanctioned, confirmed, and unalterably approved, to be an unchangeable tradition. Therefore let that which we have said be before your eyes, and what we have ordained be established in your hearts, and what we have approved of have free course among you; and the Lord Christ spread abroad in His Church peace, security, and mercy, and encompass you with His right hand for ever and ever. Amen. And may the prayers of the two fathers,—the shepherds who shed their blood which mingled with the blood of our Lord Christ, and thereby became partakers of His sufferings, and His rejoicing in the high and blissful kingdom,—keep all the sons of the Church, which is sorrowful because she has lost them. And we, also, the unworthy, beseech our Lord and Saviour to preserve His Church, to protect His priests, and to save His flock from the enemies who are banded together against them, and from the snares of the spiritual ones, and the oppression of the bodily ones; and that He may pour out upon you the strength of His grace, and His great blessing, that in Him ye may resist every adversary, and convince every gainsayer. Yea, O Lord, fit the Patriarchs, the Metropolitans and Bishops, the Presbyters and Deacons, and all the faithful, for the reception of Thy grace, and pour out upon them Thy gifts, and Thy visible benefits: cleanse their bodies and purify their souls, give wisdom to their ignorance, multiply their fewness, heal their breaches, restore all their concerns, bring back their wanderers, and perfect Thy promises to them as Thou didst to Thy holy ones Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Amen. Amen. Amen."

Agreeably with the provisions contained in the above epistle, the Patriarchs of the east ceased to receive their investiture from

Antioch, and the successors to the patriarchal office and dignity were elected by the Metropolitans and Bishops of the eastern dioceses. The ninth Patriarch after Mar Papa, (who were all consecrated at Ctesiphon,) was Mar Dad-Yeshua, in whose time the dispute arose between Cyril and Nestorius. Babai, who died a martyr at Heerta, (the Hîra of the Arabs) succeeded Dad-Yeshua, who in his turn gave place to Mar Acac and Mar Babai. During the patriarchate of the latter the Easterns were called upon to receive the twelve anathemas of Cyril, but, refusing to obey, and choosing rather to espouse the cause of Nestorius, they were cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church, by the decree of the general council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and thenceforward acquired the epithet of "Nestorians." The charge of heresy preferred against them, their defence of their doctrines, and the manner in which the Easterns conducted themselves on that occasion, will be fully discussed in the succeeding volume.

Up to this period the pure faith of the Church was widely scattered throughout the Persian empire by the zeal of the eastern missionaries, and Christianity triumphed over all the obstacles which the jealousy of sovereigns and the malice of heathen priests opposed to its onward progress. Persian historians go so far as to affirm, that Artaxerxes Babegan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, was in heart a Christian, and during his reign the Church enjoyed a season of comparative rest and freedom. Towards the middle of the third century, however, the flames of persecution were again kindled by Shapoor, who after having ravaged Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Mesopotamia, attacked the unresisting Christians with the barbarity of a Nero.

Such were the fortunes of the infant Church in these parts during the reigns of the successive Sassanian rulers; sometimes tolerated, but more frequently doomed to suffer the most unheard of cruelties, the Christians nevertheless survived the fury of their oppressors and flourished and multiplied in spite of every attempt made to exterminate them.

Instead of going into any details of the after history of the Nestorians, I shall lay before my readers the summary of their missions and successes in the far east as drawn up by Gibbon,

whose testimony is the more valuable as coming from a professed infidel. The following extract, though tainted with a sneer, is remarkable for the authenticity of the facts therein recorded: "The desire of gaining souls for God, and subjects for the Church, excited in every age the diligence of the Christian priests. From the conquest of Persia they carried their spiritual arms to the north, the east, and the south: and the simplicity of the gospel was fashioned and painted with the colours of the Syriac theology. In the sixth century, according to the report of a Nestorian traveller, Christianity was successfully preached to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites: the barbaric churches, from the gulf of Persia to the Caspian sea, were almost infinite; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. The pepper coast of Malabar, and the isles of the ocean, Socotra and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing number of Christians, and the bishops and clergy of those sequestered regions derived their ordination from the Catholic of Babylon. In a subsequent age, the zeal of the Nestorians over-leaped the limits which had confined the ambition and curiosity both of the Greeks and Persians. The missionaries of Balch and Samarcand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartar, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Imaus and the banks of the Selinga. They exposed a metaphysical creed to those illiterate shepherds; to those sanguinary warriors they recommended humanity and repose . . . . In their progress by sea and land, the Nestorians entered China by the port of Canton and the northern residence of Sigan. Unlike the senators of Rome, who assumed with a smile the characters of priests and augurs, the mandarins who affect in public the reason of philosophers, are devoted in private to every mode of popular superstition. They cherished and they confounded the gods of Palestine and of India; but the propagation of Christianity awakened the jealousy of the state, and after a short vicissitude of favour and persecution, the foreign sect expired in ignorance and oblivion. Under the reign of the Caliphs, the Nestorian Church was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus; and their numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin commu-

nions. Twenty-five metropolitans or archbishops composed their hierarchy;* but several of these were dispensed, by the distance and danger of the way, from the duty of personal attendance, on the easy condition that every six years they should testify their faith and obedience to the *Catholic* or patriarch of Babylon, a vague appellation, which has been applied to the royal seats of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Baghdad. These remote branches are long since withered, and the old patriarchal trunk is now divided by the Elîas of Mosul, the representatives, almost in lineal descent, of the genuine and primitive succession, the *Yoosefs* of Amida, who are reconciled to the Church of Rome, and the *Shimoons* of Van or Ooroomiah, whose revolt at the head of forty thousand families was promoted in the 16th century by the Sophis of Persia."

The latter part of the above extract is confirmed and illustrated by the following quotations from Mosheim:[12] "The ambitious views of the Roman pontiffs sowed the pestilential seeds of animosity and discord among all the eastern Churches; and the Nestorian Christians felt early the effects of their imperious councils. In the year 1551, a warm dispute arose among that people about the creation of a new patriarch, Simeon Barmamas being proposed by one party, and Sulâka earnestly desired by the other. The latter to support his pretensions the more effectually, repaired to Rome, and was consecrated patriarch, in the year 1553, by Pope Julius III. whose jurisdiction he had acknowledged, and to whose commands he had promised unlimited submission and obedience. Julius gave the name John to the new Chaldean patriarch, and upon his return to his own country, sent with him several persons, skilled in the Syriac language, to assist him in establishing and extending the papal empire among the Nestorians. From this time that unhappy people were divided into two factions, and were often involved in the greatest dangers and difficulties by the jarring sentiments and perpetual quarrels of their patriarchs.

"These divisions still subsisted during the 17th century, and

* The catalogue of Nestorian writers as given in Vol. ii. Appendix A. conveys a general idea, not only of the learning, but also of the number of the Nestorian hierarchy, and the extent of country over which they spread.

some of the Nestorian patriarchs discovered a propensity to accommodate matters with the Church of Rome. Elîa II. patriarch of Mosul, sent two private embassies to the Pope, in the years 1607 and 1610, to solicit his friendship; and, in the letter he addressed upon that occasion to Paul IV. declared his desire to bring about a reconciliation between the Nestorians and the Latin Church. Elîa III., though at first extremely averse to the doctrine and institutions of that Church, changed his sentiments in this respect; and in the year 1657, addressed a letter to the congregation *De propaganda Fide* in which he intimated his readiness to join with the Church of Rome, on condition that the Pope would allow the Nestorians a place of public worship in that city, and would abstain from all attempts to alter the doctrine or discipline of that sect. The Romish doctors could not but perceive that a reconciliation, founded on such conditions as these, would be attended with no advantage to their Church,[13] and promised nothing that could flatter the ambition of their pontiff. And accordingly we do not find that the proposal above mentioned was accepted. It does not appear that the Nestorians were received, at this time, into the communion of the Romish Church, or that the Bishops of Mosul were, after this period, at all solicitous about the friendship or goodwill of the Roman pontiff. The Nestorian patriarchs of Ooroomiah, who successively assume the name of Shimoon, proposed also, more than once, plans of reconciliation with the Church of Rome; and with that view, sent the Roman pontiff a confession of their faith, that gave a clear idea of their religious tenets and institutions. But these proposals were little attended to by the court of Rome, which was either owing to its dislike of the doctrine of these Nestorians, or to that contempt which their poverty and want of influence excited in the pontiffs, whose ambition and avidity aimed at acquisitions of more consequence; for it is well known, that, since the year 1617, the patriarchs of Ooroomiah have been in a low and declining state, both in point of opulence and credit, and are no longer in a condition to excite the envy of their brethren at Mosul. The Romish missionaries gained over, nevertheless, to their communion, a handful of Nestorians, whom they formed into a congregation or Church, about the middle of this century. The patriarchs of this little

flock reside in the city of Amida, or Diarbekir, and all assume the denomination of Yoosef."*

I shall now add a few remarks explanatory of some of the facts recorded in the above quotation. It has already been stated that after the east had been formed into a See independent of Antioch, the patriarchs were chosen to their office by the common consent of the Church, through the Metropolitans and Bishops of the principal dioceses. This order appears to have prevailed up to the middle of the 15th century,† when the gradual decay of ecclesiastical tradition and discipline led to an entire change in the mode of appointment,—a change not only opposed to the spirit of the gospel, and the universal practice of the Church, but contrary to the opinions of the best Nestorian divines most clearly and repeatedly expressed. About this time, the accession to the highest office in the hierarchy was assimilated to those hereditary temporal dignities which are transmitted by right of blood, and in 1450, the patriarch Mar Shimoon enacted a law, that his successors should be chosen from his nearest relatives. This ordinance, which still exists in full force among the Nestorians, and which is likewise acted upon in most appointments to the episcopate, soon became a fruitful source of dissension among them.[14] Marriage, which in former ages had been permitted to all Bishops and even to the patriarch of the community, had long ceased to be regarded as suitable or even lawful to those dignitaries, and the consequent celibacy of the patriarch rendered the execution of the new law more difficult. A number of claimants frequently disputed the possession of the highest dignity in the church, and the whole body was vexed and agitated by the intrigues and disorders which this rivalry engendered. A century had scarcely elapsed when these quarrels resulted in an open schism, and the Nestorians were divided into three separate parties, each headed by a patriarch who laid claim to all the prerogatives of that dignity over the entire community. The mountain Nestorians of the

* I have substituted the word "Patriarch" for that of "Bishop," which the author laxly uses in the above extract to designate the highest ecclesiastical dignity.

† In Vol. ii. chap. xxxix. I have given the election of a patriarch in full, copied from one of the Nestorian synodal collections, as late as A.D. 1317.

present day maintain that Shimoon, (the nephew of the deceased patriarch, whose claims were set aside by the assembly of Bishops at Mosul, when they elected Sulâka in his room, A.D. 1552, as recorded by Mosheim,) was the rightful successor. According to their account, this Shimoon was recognized by them, and from him the patriarchate has descended to the present occupant Mar Shimoon, the eleventh of that name. About the same time a more distant relation was raised to the primacy by the Bishops of Ooroomiah; but on his death the Nestorians of Persia and those of Coordistan settled their differences, and agreed to unite under one spiritual head, and this patriarchate has been kept up ever since in a direct succession, of which the present Mar Shimoon is the rightful representative.

The Romanist accounts of these occurrences are somewhat different, and as contradictory as they are improbable.[15] They tell us, on the one hand, that Shimoon, the rejected nephew, incited the Turks to the murder of Sulâka, thinking by this means to establish his authority over the Nestorians of the plains as well as those in the mountains; and, on the other, that a Nestorian layman was the author of the schism. I shall give their narrative of this latter event in the words of the Jesuit Boré, without retorting the malignant and false reproach which he casts upon our Church: "The Pasha of Van had a Chaldean treasurer, who not having had any children by his first wife took unto himself another. He vainly entreated the catholic patriarch to legalize this new alliance: neither presents nor threats could induce the pastor to infringe a formal law of the Church. In his vexation, the gallant treasurer of the pasha, unwittingly perpetrated the crime of Henry VIII. and created a schism in the community. Thus the new Chaldean [Nestorian] like the Anglican Church was regenerated by an adulterer! He soon found among the descendants of the first Shimoon a grand-nephew disposed to usurp the spiritual authority whom he first established at Somai and afterwards at Kochânes." The mischievous Frenchman adduces no authority in support of this tale, and it is greatly to be doubted whether, like many similar fictions contained in his "Correspondance d'Orient," it has any better foundation than the wantonness of his own fertile imagination.

It is difficult at this distance of time, and amidst so many jarring testimonies, to decide which of the two claimants above referred to was the rightful successor to the supreme spiritual authority over the whole Nestorian community. I mean, of course, according to the law of succession which had obtained among them for a century, and which was acted upon afterwards by both parties, until it was abrogated in 1842 by the appointment of a stranger to the Chaldean patriarchate in succession to Mar Elia the last of that name. Ecclesiastically speaking, such appointments were only valid on either side in so far as they were recognized by the concurrence of the bishops and clergy; and in this respect both were placed on an equal footing, although the advantage of numbers was and is still on the side of the mountain patriarchs and their successor Mar Shimoon. The Nestorian patriarchs of the plains, however, enjoyed great political superiority over their rivals, inasmuch as they were recognized by the Sublime Porte, and each successive occupant of the see received an imperial firman, (the substance of which is said to have been originally conceded by Mohammed to Yeshua-yau, the then Patriarch of the East residing at Baghdad,) acknowledging him in his dignity and confirming his spiritual authority over the Nestorians of the empire.* The predecessors of Mar Shimoon, who had taken up their abode among the wild and really independent tribes of Coordistan, were not thus recognized by the Turkish government, and exercised their jurisdiction with the concurrence of their own people, being tolerated and protected therein by the Coordish Emeers.

The frequent attempts made by Romish missionaries to induce these two Nestorian patriarchs, one of whom held his seat at Mosul or Alkósh, and the other at Kochánes in central Coordistan, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, are fully recorded in the above quotations. The partial success of these machinations was ever and anon thwarted and destroyed by the attachment of the Nestorians to their own rituals and discipline.

* I have seen two of these firmans, dated about a century and a half ago, which invest the patriarch with authority over the Nestorians in and about Mosul, also in Jerusalem, Tyre, and Cyprus. It is clear from the tenour of these documents that they were copied from an ancient exemplar, as at that time there were no Nestorians beyond the limits of Mesopotamia.

Again and again did they throw off the foreign yoke which their patriarchs had been mainly instrumental in fixing upon their necks, until at length their obstinacy so wearied out the efforts of the court of Rome, that Pope Innocent XI. proceeded to effect a new schism: which he did by appointing Yoosef, the first of that name, as Patriarch of the Chaldeans at Diarbekir, A.D. 1681.

The new patriarchate thus formed, and which could lay claim to no other authority, than that of being founded by the Papal see, since it was neither recognized by the Nestorian bishops, nor by the Sublime Porte, did not at first extend beyond the city of Diarbekir, where most of the Nestorians had become proselytes to Rome, and were thenceforth styled "Chaldeans." The Latin missionaries, however, did not suspend their exertions, but continued to disseminate the peculiar doctrines of the Papacy among the Nestorians around Mosul. The decay of learning among these latter, their spiritual and temporal destitution, as well as the internal dissensions which racked and rent this ancient community, favoured the arts and stratagems of the missionaries, and after five successive Yoosefs had occupied the See of Diarbekir it was declared abolished by the submission of Mar Elîa* the Nestorian Patriarch of Mosul to the Roman Pontiff, in which he was followed by most of the villages in the plains of the Tigris.

Yoosef V., however, continued to exercise jurisdiction over Diarbekir, till the time of his death, which occurred about the year 1828, notwithstanding that the secession of the last Nestorian patriarch to Rome took place as early as 1778. A detailed account of that event, and of the troubles and divisions which it occasioned, are fully recorded in the following autobiography translated from a Syriac MS. now in my possession, and written by the author's own hand.

"I Hormuzd, son of deacon Hanna, the brother of Mar Elîa the Patriarch of the East, was born A.D. 1760, and received the order of deacon from my above-named uncle, in the year 1772,

* Mar or Mutran Hanna or Yohannân, (John,) is the name by which the last of the Nestorian patriarchs is generally known. The succeeding narrative will show why Rome objected to his assuming the official title of his predecessors, which he himself hardly ever used except upon his seal, and that only a year or two before his death.

and in 1776, on the 22nd of May, on the day of Pentecost, I was made Metropolitan. Now the reason of my being made Metropolitan at so early an age was this: My uncle had a Metropolitan under him named Yeshua-yau, who was also his nephew, but who did not obey or serve him as he ought, and who the more he was advised the more he rebelled. Moreover, he was ever and anon changing his profession of faith, sometimes he was a Meshihaya* and sometimes a Nestorian; six times he joined himself to the holy Church [of Rome], and six times he recanted, and the oftener he left the orthodox faith the more he used to blaspheme, and that from covetousness, and a love of money which were inherent in him. My uncle finding that all his labour was lost upon such an individual made me Metropolitan, and put me in his place to serve him. I accordingly served him to the best of my ability for about two years, when in 1778 a plague broke out in the village of Alkósh, and many persons died, among whom was my uncle, who departed this life on the 29th of April.

"After this I Hanna† the undeserving thought within myself that I would not walk in the way of my fathers, but would take refuge under the wings of the holy Catholic Church, and embrace the faith of the church of Rome, and live therein; for I know that out of her there is no salvation from the awful judgment, since she is the holy Church, and a compassionate mother, and the LORD has established her and made her to prosper. So on the 30th of April I embraced all that the holy Church believes, and rejected all that she rejects, and received absolution from our priests [the Latin missionaries, and I and Yeshua-yau were reconciled, for he also at this time had embraced the faith of the holy Church, but hypocritically. It was moreover agreed that he should be Patriarch in the room of my uncle; but a few months had hardly elapsed when he again became a heretic, whereupon he turned to be my enemy and the enemy of all the people. This event took place in May, 1779.

* *Meshihaya* literally means a Christian, but it is used here to denote the seceders from Nestorianism to Rome.

† His Christian name as we have seen was Hormuzd, but according to a practice common in the East as well as the West it was changed to Hanna, or Yohannân, at his ordination.

I then left Alkôsh and went to the village of Ainkâwa, where I remained several days. Thither I brought the people of Armoota and Shaklâwa, and instructed them in the faith of the holy Church, which they embraced, and were absolved by my unworthy self, after I had laboured much to convince them, S. Mary having at length enlightened their eyes. But when the above-named heretic heard of these proceedings he sent letters directing the people not to receive me, which letters fell into my hands. He became the more enraged when he heard that all the inhabitants of these villages had become Meshihayé, and had he been able he would have destroyed every one of them. He did all in his power to trouble the Meshihayé, and these not wishing to endure his vexations, laid a complaint against him before Suleiman Pasha of Mosul, of the house of Abd-ool-Jeleel, to whom they gave money in order to secure his support. I also, from fear of this heretic, went to Mosul in the year 1780, and appealed to the governor of that place, who obtained for me from the Sultan of the Ishmaelites at Constantinople a firman granting me authority over the Meshihayé and heretics. Moreover I wrote my confession of faith and sent it to the Sacred Society at Rome, which was received there with great joy, and our lord Pope Pius granted me licence to minister and perfect the office of patriarch, but I was not allowed to use the patriarchal seal. This concession made to us by Pope Pius VI. came to hand on the 11th of December, 2094 of the Grecian era, A.D. 1782. I now exercised great zeal, the Divine grace helping me, in preaching among the heretics, and in endeavouring to give them a right knowledge of the faith of the holy Church. This conduct incensed all the heretics against me, and they did all in their power to destroy me. Moreover Yeshua-yau became my greatest enemy, and wrote against me to Ismael Pasha of Amedia; but our Lord Jesus Christ supported me, and made me triumphant.

"In the year 1783, on the 7th of April, Yeshua-yau again embraced the faith of the Church of Rome, but deceitfully; and I enjoined him to do penance according to the custom of the holy Church. He remained stedfast until the month of September, 1784, when he relapsed into heresy, and ordained his nephew metropolitan, in order that the seed of his heresy might

not perish from the earth; and these two persons sowed their vile ignorance and their enmity in the world with all diligence. In the year 1788 I left home to visit the Meshihayé and to inquire into their state, and reached Babel [Baghdad] where I remained several months and then returned to Mosul. Here I heard that the above-named metropolitans had complained against me to Ismael Pasha of Amedia, who in consequence had conceived great hatred of me, and some of my Mohammedan friends advised me not to go to Alkôsh because he was there at the time. I abode at Telkèf for about two months until the departure of Ismael Pasha, when I returned to my village of Alkôsh. A few days afterwards I sent a present to one of the heads of the village called Bir Sivi [two hours above Zakho] by the hand of my nephew Hanna, the son of Kasha Gheorghees my brother, which when the two heretics heard they apprised Ismael Pasha thereof, who like a ravening wolf sent messengers to Zakho to seize him. Accordingly, on the 17th of May, as my nephew was leaving the church, they laid hold of him, bound him with chains, and carried him to Amedia where they imprisoned him. On hearing this I went to Mosul and applied to the governor, who sent messengers to the Pasha of Amedia to demand the release of my nephew; but the request was not granted. Whereupon the governor of Mosul gave me letters and directed me to go to Baghdad and to explain the circumstance to the Pasha of that place. I lost no time in following this advice and reached Baghdad in three days from Mosul. Now at Baghdad there were two individuals, one named Khawaja Sâr of Constantinople and the other Agha Markár of Julfa, who had great influence with the Pasha. These took me to the Pasha's Kiahya [lieutenant] to whom I explained my grievance, and he in his turn informed his master Suleiman Pasha of the whole affair. They were all very much incensed against Ismael Pasha of Amedia, and forthwith wrote angry letters to him which they sent by their own messengers who accompanied me on my return. On our arrival at Mosul we heard that Ismael Pasha had released my nephew, and had sent him to Mohammed Pasha of Mosul as soon as the news reached him of my departure for Baghdad. The messengers, however, who had come with me proceeded to Amedia and delivered the letters to Ismael Pasha,

who on receiving them wrote and begged the Pasha of Mosul to induce me to pay him a visit. This I at first refused to do, and the Meshihayé of Mosul were also against my accepting the invitation. But Mohammed Pasha was so importunate on the matter that I at length acceded to his wishes, and started from Mosul on the 15th of January, the eve of Mar Kuriakòs. As I left the town many Meshihayé and Mohammedans had sad forebodings of what would become of me; but I placed my confidence in S. Mary and went my way. When Yeshua-yau heard of this he sent his brother and his nephew the metropolitan to bribe the Coordish governor to destroy me; so that on our arrival at Amedia both small and great clamoured against me, and spent large sums of money to purchase my destruction; but our Lord Jesus Christ and S. Mary the Holy Virgin, (glory be to their grace) helped my weakness, and enabled me to triumph over them. Ismael Pasha, moreover, made peace with me, invested me with a robe, and did me much honour; he also drove away the heretical metropolitan and his father, so that they were confounded like Caiaphas and his companions. On the 18th of July I returned to Alkôsh, where my safety created great joy among all the Meshihayé.

"A month afterwards a great quarrel broke out between the Pasha of Amedia and his nephews, which induced the former to come to Beth Adhra,* whither Yeshua-yau immediately went to complain against me; but his suit was rejected. When I understood this I offered to do all in my power for the above-named governor in the hope of attaching him sincerely to me, and that through him I might be enabled to preach to the heretical Nestorians, induce them to abjure their heresy, and restore them from their error to the bosom of the compassionate mother, the holy Church. All his affairs of importance were now committed to my care, and S. Mary assisted me to transact them. One day in the month of January, 1789, while I was at Mosul on business for this Coord, Padre Maurizio Cherzoni inquired after my nephew, and suggested that I ought to ordain

* Now Ba-Idhri, one of the principal villages of the Yezeedees. There are several other villages in the vicinity of Mosul the names of which begin with the prefix "Ba." All these are written "Beth" in the old Syriac MSS., which argues for them a very ancient, perhaps Assyrian, origin.

him Metropolitan, saying: 'You are always engaged in many matters, and your enemies are numerous: should any misfortune befal you we shall be left without a Metropolitan, and we do not wish to have recourse either to Mar Yoosef of Diarbekir or to Yeshua-yau the heretic.'[16] This subject he frequently broached to me, and on New Sunday it was discussed before me while I was in the house of Khawaja Elias of Aleppo. Accordingly the day following we ordained him Deacon Gospeller in the church of Meskinta, and the Padre made a feast for us on the occasion. After this I went to Alkôsh, where I conferred the different orders upon my nephew one after the other, until the 5th of May 1790, when he received the degree of Metropolitan from my weak hands. The August following I sent him among the heretics to teach them the faith of the holy Church: but when the heretical Metropolitan saw this he also sent emissaries among them to induce them to continue in darkness like himself, and to disobey the words of God. Our Lord the Messiah, however, enlightened the minds of the villagers of Arena and Barzani, and these embraced the faith of the holy Church, and were absolved from their heresy by my nephew Mutran Shimoon, who brought their priests to me, and to them I gave vestments, chalices, and patens, and all that was necessary for their churches according to the customs of the Meshihayé, and they returned to their homes.

"In the year 1791 I sent him out a second time, and he went to Menghesh and preached to the villagers there, and these also received absolution at his hands. A few months after the heretics lodged a complaint against them before the Pasha of Amedia, who forthwith imprisoned the rector and the principal men in the village. Whereupon several came to us, and by a gift of money to the governor we obtained their release. Nevertheless I and my nephew were very anxious to make the heretics Meshihayé, and to bring them into the bosom of the compassionate mother, which is the holy Church, but the heretical metropolitan did all in his power to thwart us.

"In the month of February letters came to us from the Sacred Society of Rome, granting me jurisdiction as far as Amida (Diarbekir) and Mardeen. This news gave me great joy, and I wrote to the people of those places informing them that

they had been placed under my pastoral care. A month afterwards I went to Amedia on business, but on finding that the governor was not treating me fairly I opposed him, whereupon he was highly incensed, and despatched a messenger to the Pasha of Baghdad with a large sum of money, and another to the heretical metropolitan, inviting him to Amedia. Yeshua-yau accordingly came and offered 2,000 piastres (£20.) to obtain my imprisonment. The offer was accepted, and on the 1st of June I and my two brothers were cast into prison. When the governor of Mosul heard of this proceeding he also sent a messenger to the Pasha of Baghdad in my behalf, and it so happened that S. Mary (her prayers be with us and with all believers,) put love into the Pasha's heart, so that after he had taken the money which had been sent to him by the Coord he despatched a messenger to the governor of Amedia, ordering my immediate release. Nevertheless this infidel Hanafite refused to set me free, and dismissed Mohammed Said, the messenger, with a promise that I should be liberated in a few days; but in this he lied, for after the departure of the messenger he had us dragged out of prison to the market-place, where we were publicly beaten before all the people and before the above-named metropolitan and his heretical community, who looked on, saying: Ah, ah! we have seen it with our eyes. A month afterwards the messenger returned from Baghdad, declaring that he had orders not to leave Amedia without taking me with him, but Ismael Pasha refused to let us go. Then the Hanafite said to the messenger: Remain you here, and I will send a messenger in your stead. The infidel did so, and wrote to say that he would release me on condition that I should pay to his Effendi the sum of 5,000 piastres. This message so incensed the Pasha of Baghdad that he took an oath, and directed the messenger to say to Ismael Pasha that he would pull down his castle over his head unless he immediately sent the prisoner to him. I was accordingly released on the 13th of September, after having been imprisoned for three months and a half among scorpions, of which I killed no less than seven near my head; but the Lord saved me from prison and from these reptiles, and from all evil, through the acceptable prayers of S. Mary, and He will deliver me from the fire of hell. Amen.

"On my release the Pasha of Amedia would not suffer me to visit my family, but sent me to Baghdad under care of the messenger by a circuitous route. I entered that city on the 26th of September, and offered up myriads of thanks and praises to God for having delivered me out of the hand of the infidel. And when I again found myself in a church among the Meshihayé I confessed my sins, and partook of the sin-forgiving body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ for the grace which He had manifested towards my weakness, and because my only hope was in Him and in S. Mary the blessed Virgin, for I believe that she it was who saved me out of the power of that infidel Hanafite. Some days after this Ahmed Kiahya, the Pasha's lieutenant, generally known as Kiahya Pasha, sent for me and showed me great kindness; he moreover advised me to remain at Baghdad, promising to settle all my affairs. I resided at the house of the Padri for four months, but finding that they grew tired of me I left them and took up my abode at our church. Shortly after this another messenger arrived from Ismael Pasha of Amedia, bringing with him a present of 75,000 piastres to Kiahya Pasha, and an offer of 10,000 piastres additional if he would consent to send me to him. Kiahya Pasha informed me of this proposition, whereupon I said: You are my governor, and wherever you please to send me I will go, but I will not go to that infidel governor. I recognise you only as my master. This saying so pleased him that he respected me the more, and I was allowed to remain at Baghdad. In the beginning of May another messenger came for me, but I still refused to go.

"About this time a dispute arose between me and the Padri Carmelitani about one of our females, whom they had united in marriage without my knowledge. All the Meshihayé told the Padri that they had not acted rightly in the affair, and hence they were greatly incensed against me.

"In the month of May, 1792, my brother, Deacon Gawrièl, departed out of this transitory world, (the Lord grant him rest in the mansions of His kingdom) the news of which reached Baghdad, but was not communicated to me. I perceived, however, that the letters which came to me from my nephew, Mutran Shimoon, were not written in their usual style: still I could not

divine the reason. One day while on my way to visit a merchant of Constantinople called Filippos Mordiân, who had burnt his hands and face with gunpowder, a woman stopped me to kiss my hand and said: May *your* head be safe.* She, perceiving my ignorance of the matter, did not reply to my questions why she so addressed me. Much troubled in spirit I bent my steps towards the house of Deacon Gheorghees, the head of our community, and finding him absent I inquired of his son whether any thing had befallen my relations. He simply told me that certain letters had been withheld from me, whereupon I sought after them, and from them learned the death of my brother. I wept, but could do no more than offer up prayers and masses that God would deliver him from the fire of purgatory. After this, in the month of November, 1793, I rented a house called Jebaci Bashi, whither all the Meshihayé and Mohammedans came to condole with me, but the Padri did not come.

"On the eve of the feast of the Circumcision my nephews, Mutran Shimoon and Deacon Isa, came to Baghdad, about which time the Padri were reconciled to us, but hatred still lodged in their hearts. Two months afterwards I permitted Mutran Shimoon to return to Alkôsh to superintend my affairs, and retained Deacon Isa with me. The Coordish governor still continued to send after me, but the Pasha's lieutenant would not suffer me to depart, for he knew that the heretical metropolitan hated me, and he was afraid that if I went to Mosul or Amedia I should be murdered. The Kiahya, moreover, treated me with the greatest consideration, and sought my advice whenever any dispute arose among the Meshihayé.

"All this time I had received no letters from Diarbekir or Mardeen, for it appears that they would not receive the orders of our lord the Pope; on the contrary, Kasha Agostîn went to Sert, where there was a presbyter named Michael. Him he took to one of the Tcawâlakha† Metropolitans and got him consecrated Metropolitan, and set him over Mardeen without the consent of our lord the Pope. When the Sacred Society heard

* The usual salutation of condolence to one who has lately been bereaved of a relative or friend.

† *Tcawâlakha* is the vulgar name given to the people of Jelu, a district in central Coordistan.

that the people of Diarbekir and Mardeen had not obeyed the order of the Pope nor his supremacy, they sent letters to me and to Padre Fulgenzio, who was then at Baghdad, directing him to go to Diarbekir, and to inquire why the people had not submitted to my authority.* Now this Padre was my enemy on account of the affair of the marriage, and this I learned further from the letters which reached me on the 14th of February, 1794, and I answered the Society accordingly. Padre Fulgenzio, however, departed and went to Selook, which is Kerkook, and created divisions among the Meshihayé there, and he did the same at Ainkáwa. Moreover he wrote letters to other villages which began in this style: I, Padre Fulgenzio, superior of the Patriarchs of the East, &c.; many of which letters fell into my hands. He then went to Mosul and sowed tares there also, and in the villages of that district, on account of which, a fierce dispute arose between him and Padre Mansoor, [prob. Vittorio] in which the whole congregation took part, because he wished to absolve Mutran Yeshua-yau and his nephew, whose deceit rendered them undeserving of absolution. In consequence of this quarrel, Padre Fulgenzio went to Zakho, whither Mutran Hnan-Yeshua followed him, and was absolved by him, though in reality he did not know how to convey absolution, [on account of his ignorance of the Syriac.] This affair gave rise to many dissensions among the Meshihayé, all which I learned through letters which were addressed to me by Padre Mansoor and the congregation at Mosul. Many of these I got translated into Latin, and wrote others in Syriac to the Sacred Society, informing them of all that had occurred. When our lord the Pope heard of these things, he was very angry with Padre Fulgenzio and the people of Diarbekir and Mardeen, and with the consecrating and consecrated Metropolitans, and suspended the latter and the priests of Diarbekir from their ministerial functions. He moreover desired Padre Fulgenzio not to interfere with my affairs, or with the affairs of the Chaldeans, and the Sacred Society wrote him a very sharp letter full of rebuke, and

* I fancy that, in professing to place Diarbekir and Mardeen under his jurisdiction, the Pope or the Propaganda duped Mutran Hanna, since Yoosef V. was still living at the former town, and was still recognized as Patriarch of the Chaldeans by the see of Rome.

sent another to me full of respect. A serious disturbance now broke out betwixt Padre Mansoor and the congregation at Mosul, in which the latter were in the right: nevertheless, I wrote and entreated both parties to be reconciled. Padre Fulgenzio left Diarbekir for Mosul, and took part with Padre Mansoor, who afterwards came to Baghdad. On the 14th of April, 1795, I again received letters from the Sacred Society, the contents of which I made known to all my people. Padre Mansoor now called upon us to prove his false reports, which we declined to do, and merely put it to him whether Padre Fulgenzio had acted rightly in absolving the heretical Metropolitan. He replied in the negative; whereupon I asked him why he had wrought such confusion among the Meshihayé." Here the original fragment ends.

Trivial as many of these details are, they serve to convey a sad but apparently true picture of the state of religion among the Nestorians of the plains towards the end of the last century. From the above record we may learn, that the hereditary succession to the patriarchate which had already split this people into two rival communities under separate primates, and widely corrupted the primitive discipline as sanctioned by their own recognised canons, had well-nigh led to the extinction of the episcopate among those who inhabited the level country east of the Tigris. It appears, that on the death of Mar Elîa in 1778, there were only two Nestorian Bishops in this extensive district which formerly had been divided into so many dioceses, and that had it not been for the unruly temper of one of them, Yeshua-yau, who was at first destined to succeed his uncle, the other nephew, Mutran Hanna, would not have been raised to the episcopal office and dignity. There can be no doubt but that ambition and covetousness, as well as the growing wants of the collateral branches of the Beit-ool-Ab, or patriarchal family, (now amounting to several hundred souls through the nepotism which had been introduced in the order of succession,) instigated the late incumbents of the primacy over the Nestorians to centre in themselves the functions of their suffragans, in order thereby to lay claim to their influence and temporalities. The synodal decrees requiring that the Patriarch's consent should be obtained in the case of every new appoint-

ment to the episcopal office, and the gradual decay of consecration thereto by two or more bishops, which at length led to the persuasion, that he was the only valid consecrator, favoured this assumption and abuse of power on the part of the later Patriarchs, and finally resulted in a spiritual despotism, as baneful in its effects upon the entire body of the Nestorians, as it was contrary to their own ancient canons, and opposed to the traditions handed down to us from the Apostles.

It is moreover clear from the above autobiography, that the Nestorians of the plains had become so weak and degraded, that on the death of the last Mar Elîa, neither of the two Metropolitans his nephews had sufficient power to lay claim to the succession, otherwise it is natural to suppose that the one or the other would have assumed the patriarchal dignity. To strengthen his pretensions, which were likely to be disputed by the elder nephew, Mutran Yeshua-yau, Mutran Hanna goes over to Rome the day after his uncle's death, and appears to have received obsequiously the very uncertain and undefined authority with which the Roman Pontiff chose to invest him. This defection, which increased the weakness of the Nestorian community, placed additional obstacles in the way of Mutran Yeshua yau, whose frequent change of creed lays him open to the charge of having followed for the time that party which he thought more able or better disposed to confirm him in the patriarchal dignity. How much the Latin missionaries had to do in fomenting these divisions we are not left to conjecture: the testimony of Mutran Hanna, whose attachment to the Roman Church, if his own writing is to be believed, cannot be doubted, goes to prove that their object throughout was to oppose the two bishops, the one to the other, in order more effectually to establish the supremacy of the popedom;—that they ruled over the one with despotic sway, and made him yield to all their demands by holding up the other to him as an instrument ready to co-operate with them in their purposes;—and that the pretended concessions of patriarchal power made to Mutran Hanna on his submission to the Pope were mere stratagems designed to delude him and those Nestorians who followed his example into the belief that no infringement had been practised upon their ancient rights and privileges. In the

following continuation of the narrative of this schism, these machinations will be brought out into bolder relief: and should the details be judged as too minute and sometimes puerile, the best apology which I can offer for laying them before the reader is the deplorable fact, that in the late ecclesiastical history of the Chaldean community, nothing has transpired more worthy of being recorded.

A few years after the events narrated by Mutran Hanna, one Gawrièl, a native of Mardeen, who had acquired some wealth in mercantile speculations, retired from business at Baghdad, and undertook to instruct several Chaldean youths gratuitously in the Arabic language, in grammar, logic, and rhetoric, of which he was considered perfect master. His talents and zeal were so much appreciated, that on his arrival at Mosul, the Chaldeans offered him the convent of Rabban Hormuzd, then deserted and partly in ruins, as a seminary, and invited him to take up his abode there. He acceded to the proposal, and in a short time collected a number of pupils, most of whom soon after took the vows of poverty and celibacy. These monks, headed by their lay superior, and abetted by the Latin missionaries, and by one Kas Hanna of Tell Iskof, and Kas Hanna of Alkôsh, set at nought the authority of Mutran Hanna, and did all in their power to acquire a rival influence over the community at large. They moreover laid claim to a large proportion of the property then in the hands of the patriarchal family, as belonging by right to the conventual establishment. Mutual jealousies and recriminations followed, until the Monks and Latin missionaries sent a joint letter to the Propaganda, complaining that Mutran Hanna was opposed to their order,—that he instigated the Coords of Ismael Pasha against them,—that he was endeavouring to lead the Chaldean proselytes back to Nestorianism,—and that as his fidelity to Rome was very doubtful, he was utterly unworthy of the office which he filled. In consequence of these charges, Mutran Hanna was suspended from his functions, and one Kas Gheorghees, a presbyter, appointed delegate in his stead. About this time, Gawrièl was sent to Diarbekir by the Romish missionaries, where he was ordained priest by the Chaldean Patriarch Mar Yoosef V., and returned to Rabban Hormuzd as abbot of the convent.

Mutran Hanna continued suspended for about five years, at the end of which a vicar apostolic was sent to Baghdad to investigate into the charges laid against him. The result led to his restoration; nevertheless, the monks continued to resist his authority, and shortly after, with no other sanction than that of their abbot, they sent five of their number to Diarbekir to be inducted into the episcopal office, and these were actually consecrated Metropolitans by Mar Yoosef V., whilst Rome professed to recognize Mutran Hanna as Patriarch of all the Chaldeans in the neighbourhood of Mosul. These newly-made Metropolitans had no fixed dioceses, but Mar Yoosef took upon himself to send Mutran Michael to Sert, and Mutran Ignatius to Mardeen, though this latter town had been placed under the jurisdiction of Mutran Hanna by the Pope himself. The remaining three came and dwelt in their native villages which they thenceforth raised into dioceses; Mutran Basileos remained at Telkèf, Mutran Laurentius at Tell Iskof, and Mutran Yoosef, who had been coffee-maker to Mutran Hanna, at Alkôsh; and each ordained priests and deacons at his pleasure, in spite of the authority of Mutran Hanna, whose sole ecclesiastical right over the district was indisputable.

So much confusion arose from these proceedings that the Chaldeans finally induced Kas Gawrièl the Abbot and the Latin missionaries to separate the Bishops. Mutran Basileos was accordingly ordered to go to Amedia, Mutran Laurentius to Baghdad, and Mutran Yoosef to Mosul, where the latter soon created a schism in the community, those siding with him taking the name of Yoosefites, and those who still continued faithful to the Patriarch, Hannanites. Mutran Basileos, however, refused to go to Amedia, fearing the anger of Ismael Pasha, who had become the friend of Mutran Hanna; so he remained at Telkèf until a circumstance occurred which obliged him to depart elsewhere. The *Kiahya* of Telkèf at this time was one Marroghi Kessi, a tyrannical bad man, who so vexed the villagers that a deputation headed by Mutran Basileos and the priests, laid their grievances before Yahya Pasha of Mosul and demanded redress. The *Kiahya* having bribed the Pasha to support him, all the complainants, the priests included, were ordered to be publicly whipped, and the bishop received notice to quit the

district within twenty-four hours. Mutran Basileos accordingly left for Diarbekir, where he was well received by the patriarch Mar Yoosef V., and by the Chaldeans of that town. Shortly after this Mar Yoosef died, and the people having applied to Rome to sanction the appointment Mutran Basileos was confirmed metropolitan of Diarbekir, and invested with archiepiscopal powers. Amedia was now without a bishop, and Mosul would not receive Mutran Yoosef, so it was agreed upon by the Abbot and the Latin missionaries that he should be sent to the former town. Not however being sure how he might be treated by Ismael Pasha, he went to reside at Alkôsh, where he continued to intrigue among the Chaldeans and with the local authorities of Mosul against Mutran Hanna, who was at length cast into prison. He was kept in close confinement for four months, and several eye-witnesses have assured me that on his liberation his body was literally covered with filth and vermin.

Monsignor Paul Coupperie was the then Roman vicar apostolic to these parts, and M. Trioche acted as his deacon, whom he ordained priest at Baghdad about this time. Coupperie came to Mosul, and after examining into the charges laid against Mutran Hanna absolved him, and restored to him the exercise of his jurisdiction. The opposing party, however, professed to doubt the authority of the vicar apostolic, and declared that his absolution was invalid since it had not been sanctioned by the Pope. Whereupon he joined with a number of the influential Chaldeans, and petitioned the Roman See to reinstate Mutran Hanna in the patriarchal dignity. In the mean time Monsignor Coupperie died at Baghdad, and letters arrived from Rome directing Mutran Hanna and Mutran Laurentius to consecrate Padre Trioche bishop, which they accordingly did, and he was forthwith invested with all the powers of vicar apostolic. Monsignor Trioche took part with Mutran Hanna, who was soon after recognized by the Pope as supreme head over all the Chaldeans. He was now, moreover, permitted to use a seal of office, and to exercise all the functions of patriarch, provided he abstained from admitting any of his relations to the episcopal order. Mar Elìa, as he now signed himself, though he continued to be styled Mutran or Mar Hanna, received this intelligence at Baghdad,

and forthwith sent notice of the same to the different Churches within his jurisdiction. The monks of Rabban Hormuzd hesitated to acknowledge his supremacy, in which they were abetted by Mutran Yoosef, (who had laid claim to episcopal authority over the convent since the death of Kas Gawrièl the Abbot,) on the ground that it was situated within the diocese of Amedia to which he had been appointed. On hearing this, the patriarch suspended the recusants, the bishop included; whereupon they held a conference whether they should not disobey the mandate. The news of another Vicar Apostolic having been sent from Rome to these parts induced them to submit for a time; but after vainly waiting two months for his arrival, they all, with one exception, broke through the imposed restriction, and resumed their ministerial functions. Kas Stephân, a presbyter monk, sent in his submission to the patriarch, and was appointed to a cure of souls in the village of Telkèf.*

Just before this occurrence Mar Hanna, as directed by orders from Rome, had consecrated two Metropolitans, Mutran Nicolaos, commonly called Mutran Zeyya, a Persian Chaldean of Khosrâwa, and an élève of the Propaganda, and Mutran Botros whom he made his deputy. The latter was sent to Mosul by the Patriarch, and one Kas Andrea on the part of Monsignor Trioche, to inquire into the conduct of the rebellious priests of Rabban Hormuzd. On hearing this Mutran Yoosef fled to Diarbekir, where he was welcomed by Mutran Basilcos: and the delegates after condemning the obstinacy of the monks returned to Baghdad. The latter, however, still held out, and having assembled a conventual synod they decided that Kas Hanna, their Abbot, should be sent to Rome to complain against the joint proceedings of the Patriarch and Monsignor Trioche. On

* This priest has since been expelled the Chaldean Church on account of his bold denunciations against the assumptions of the See of Rome, and the erroneous teaching which has been introduced into the ancient Syriac rituals. He is a somewhat eccentric but really good man, and has since been married by Mar Shimoon to a Nestorian girl with whom he lives at Telkèf, where he has braved much opposition, and maintains himself and wife by making sieves and pack-saddles. I occasionally employed him during my residence at Mosul to collect MSS. and to visit the Nestorians in the villages near Akra. Though quite unsupported he occasionally forces his way into the presence of the patriarch, and reproves him for his worldliness and slavish subjection to Rome.

arriving at Diarbekir, the Abbot was advised by the two Bishops to take with him Michael* and Botros, two lay monks of Rabban Hormuzd, whom they ordained priests to that end. The progress and result of this deputation are thus related by Kas Michael: "On our arrival at Rome, we found that complaints had already been received from Mutran Hanna and Monsignor Trioche against the conduct of the monks. The Propaganda accordingly confirmed the censure pronounced by the Patriarch, and ordered that we should be prohibited from celebrating mass. Kas Botros and I expostulated, and on exhibiting our letters of orders to prove that we were not priests when Mutran Hanna suspended the monks, we were in a measure exculpated; nevertheless, we were obliged to share in the punishment of our Abbot. We continued three months at Rome vainly hoping to speak to the Pope; at length we devised a scheme to obtain an audience. We had brought with us several cartes-blanches bearing the signatures and seals of many of the disaffected Chaldeans, one of which documents we filled with charges against Mutran Hanna and the Vicar Apostolic. After smoking it to give it the appearance of having passed through quarantine, we went to the palace and begged to be admitted to his Holiness.[17] After several fruitless attempts we at length succeeded, and were ushered into the presence of the Pope, to whom we endeavoured to make known our grievances, and gave him the letter which we had drawn up. About a week elapsed when we were sent for by the superior of the Propaganda, who ordered us to spend ten days in retirement at the Franciscan convent of Aracelli, where we were told that we should meet Padre Francesco Bilardi, now Vicar Apostolic in Syria, who would supply us with Arabic books. At the end of this period the censure was removed from us after we had given a written promise to this effect: first, that we would henceforth obey Mutran Hanna; and, secondly, that we consented to leave Rome within fifteen days and returned to our convent, whither a special deputy was to be sent to investigate into the grievances of the Chaldeans.

* This is the Chaldean who was afterwards expelled the community for his reformed opinions, and who was associated with me in my mission, as will appear in the sequel.

We accordingly departed from Italy and reached Diarbekir in safety, and were soon followed by the newly-appointed Vicar Apostolic who died in that city a few days after his arrival. Some further correspondence ensued which resulted in the confirmation of Mutran Hanna in the patriarchal dignity, and a *pallium* was sent to him from Rome with which he was invested at Baghdad a little more than a year before his death, which took place in that city, A.D. 1841."

I must now recall to the reader's mind the condition exacted from Mutran Hanna on his first recognition by Rome, namely, that he should not consecrate any of his relations to the Episcopal office. This was effectually to abrogate the order of succession to the Patriarchate which had so long obtained among the Nestorians. There can however be no doubt that very many of the Chaldean proselytes were still attached to the old régime, and considered the destruction of the Beit-ool-Ab, or Patriarchal family, as an invasion of their ancient rights and privileges. There is every reason to believe that Mutran Hanna sympathized with them in this respect, not only from a feeling of family pride, but because at heart he was opposed to many of the encroachments of Rome, as the frequent complaints made against him by the Latin missionaries, and those of his own people over whom they had acquired supreme influence, fully testify. But he was under restraint, and the non-fulfilment of the required condition would inevitably have led to his immediate deposition, and to the more perfect subjection of the entire body of the Chaldeans to the See of Rome. Hence he dared not openly provide a successor from his own family; however, he went so far as to ordain one of his nephews priest, and in 1834 this individual was taken by his father and another uncle to Mar Shimoon, Patriarch of the mountain Nestorians, who consecrated him Metropolitan at Ooroomiah, with the title of Mar or Mutran Elîa, and appointed him Bishop over the Nestorians in the neighbourhood of Amedia. The prevailing opinion is, that this was done by the advice of Mutran Hanna, who, being himself prohibited from consecrating his nephew, conceived this scheme, in the hope that after his death the succession might be continued in the old line. Mutran Elîa, who was doubtless a consenting party to the plot, abjured Nes-

torianism a few months afterwards, was absolved, and received into the bosom of the Chaldean Church. Before his death Mutran Hanna consecrated another Metropolitan, named Mutran Auraham, and appointed him over the district of Akra. After changing sides more than once, he returned to Nestorianism in 1847, was absolved by Mar Shimoon, and is now recognized by him as Bishop of the Nestorians in the Zebâr and Mezuriych provinces.

But to return to our narrative. Immediately after the death of Mutran Hanna, Mutran Laurentius started for Diarbekir to communicate the intelligence to the two Bishops who resided there, namely, Mutran Basileos, the Archbishop, and Mutran Yoosef, the runaway Bishop of Amedia. An epistle was then written by these three to Mutran Michael, of Sert, and Mutran Zeyya, of Khosrâwa, requesting them to join in electing a successor to the Patriarchate. Zeyya promised to be with them in spring, as soon as the snows had melted from off the mountains; however, he did not abide by his word, and the remaining four proceeded to the election. As each laid claim to the dignity, nothing was decided between them, and the council was broken up, professedly on the ground of Mutran Zeyya's absence. Zeyya on hearing this went to Baghdad, and took counsel with Monsignor Trioche and Mutran Botros, who wrote a joint letter to the Propaganda, informing them of the proceedings of the four monkish Bishops, and strongly recommending Zeyya as the person most fit in every respect to fill the vacant chair. An epistle was accordingly sent from Rome, blaming the course taken by the Bishops, and stating, that as they had not agreed upon a successor, the Holy Father was obliged to take upon himself the duty of filling up the appointment, directing them at the same time to acknowledge Zeyya as their Patriarch. On his accession to office, Mar Zeyya ordered Mutran Yoosef to proceed to Amedia, but afterwards allowed him to reside at Alkôsh; and finding that great dissensions existed among the monks of Rabban Hormuzd, he allowed as many as chose to retire from the establishment. Forty-five of their number, among whom was Kas Michael, took advantage of this licence and left the convent. The general opinion is, that the new Patriarch, well acquainted as he was with the

turbulent spirit of the monks, and the opposition which they had raised to Mutran Hanna, fearing lest his authority might be thwarted in the same way, would most gladly have abolished the conventual brotherhood.

I shall now endeavour to elicit some of the secret motives which led the See of Rome to appoint Mutran Zeyya to the vacant Patriarchate.[18] In the first place, by so doing they got rid of the hereditary succession, and thus deprived the Beit-ool-Ab of that traditional importance which gave them a degree of influence among the people not likely to be exerted in favour of Papal encroachment. Secondly, Mar Zeyya was an élève of the Propaganda, and therefore a promising instrument for carrying out their designs. Thirdly, he was a Persian by birth, and consequently could lay claim to the protection of any of the foreign consuls in Turkey. The importance of this last consideration I must explain more in detail. Hitherto the community styling themselves "Chaldeans," had not been recognized by the Ottoman Porte. Mutran Hanna, like most of his predecessors, had received an imperial firman acknowledging him to be Patriarch of the *Nestorians*, which document the Romanists carefully secured on his death, and this was the only political sanction which Mar Zeyya possessed for exercising patriarchal jurisdiction over the Chaldeans. But this warrant was found to be of little value in the frequent appeals which the affairs of the community obliged him to make before the Turkish authorities; for, in the first place, it was not in his own name; and, secondly, it granted certain rights and privileges, not to a Chaldean, but to a *Nestorian* Patriarch, which he was not. To supply this deficiency, as also to carry out the designs of Rome towards the Chaldean community, which was now completely under her control, since the abrogation of the law of succession in the Beit-ool-Ab, the French government was solicited to appoint a consul to Mosul, for the express purpose of extending the benefit of her assumed protectorate over the further proceedings of the Latin missionaries. I say that this was the only conceivable ground of the appointment being made, since France has not the shadow of commercial interest in these parts whereupon to establish the necessity of such a measure. Through the intervention of the society of

Lyons, the petition was granted, and Mar Zeyya, being a Persian, now enjoyed all the privileges of a European in Turkey, with the additional support of a French consular agent to back him in the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Early in 1843 Mar Zeyya proposed to change the time of celebrating Easter among the Chaldeans, and to assimilate it to the usage of the West, which created such a ferment among the people of Mosul, who were growing jealous of any further alterations in their ancient customs, that he was obliged to abandon the attempt. About this time we arrived at Mosul, and many Chaldeans manifested a strong desire to reform the errors which had lately been introduced into their rituals, a detailed account of which will be given in a succeeding chapter. They moreover wished, if possible, to restore the patriarchal succession in the person of Mutran Elîa, the nephew of the late Mutran Hanna; but finding him too pusillanimous to attempt anything on his own behalf, and wanting in energy to effect anything for the general good of the community, they next turned to Mar Shimoon the Nestorian Patriarch, who had been driven to Mosul about the middle of the year after the massacre of his mountain flock, and proposed that he should take the initiative and lay claim to the patriarchate, promising to support him by every means in their power. All kinds of intrigue were now set on foot, aided and abetted by French influence, which was the only stronghold of the papal party, to counteract the efforts of the reformers. Complaints were made against them to the local authorities as disturbers of the peace; the Turks refused to interfere to put down the movement, because Mar Zeyya could not prove that he was recognized by the Porte, and therefore had no right to exercise jurisdiction in the Sultan's dominions. Mar Zeyya himself wrote a lying epistle to the British Ambassador at Constantinople complaining of the proceedings of our mission; Mar Shimoon was offered large sums of money by the Romanists, together with the patriarchate over the Chaldeans, if he would submit to the Pope; in fact every possible artifice was employed to support the tottering power of Rome among the Chaldeans of Mosul. Fearing the defection of some of the Bishops the Society of Lyons now consented to allow them a yearly salary to the following amount:

The Patriarch,	20,000	piastres, or £200.
Bishop of Diarbekir,	8,000	
„ Amedia,	5,000	
„ Kerkook,	4,500	
„ Sert,	4,500	
„ Mardeen,	4,500	
„ Mutran Elîa,	2,000	

But the fears which were excited by these manifestations of opposition to Romish usurpation and error, induced the papal party to send Mar Zeyya to Constantinople, where through the influence of the French Embassy he obtained a firman acknowledging him as Patriarch of the Chaldeans. This was the first recognition by the Ottoman Porte of the new community.

The withdrawal of our mission from Mosul damped the energies of the reformers, who had hoped that the Church of England would have assisted them in restoring their Church to its primitive independence and orthodoxy. Moreover on the return of Mar Zeyya from Constantinople in 1845, fresh attempts were made to destroy the remaining influence of the Beit-ool-Ab. Mutran Elîa was not allowed to exercise his episcopal functions, and claims were set up by the monks of Rabban Hormuzd upon the property, consisting chiefly of houses, land, and several water-mills, which still continued in the possession of the patriarchal family. The French consul co-operated with the monks, and two hundred and fifty persons were deprived of their patrimony and reduced to beggary through this joint agency. I am happy to say, however, that energetic remonstrances from a different quarter have succeeded in reclaiming part of the wrested property, and in restoring it to the rightful owners, most of whom reside at Alkôsh and the neighbouring villages.

Mutran Zeyya did not long fill an office, the functions of which were virtually exercised by the Propaganda, and he soon grew tired of the interference and espionage of the Latin missionaries, who criticised all his acts, and reduced him to a mere tool in their hands. His resistance alarmed the Romanists, and a charge was brought against him of having embezzled certain moneys which had been placed under his care, and which he had expended in restoring the convent of Mar Gheorghees, opposite

the town of Mosul, where he had intended to form a seminary for the education of Chaldean youth. Charges of a different nature were also laid against him, which are generally believed to be without foundation, and he was ordered to proceed to Rome to answer for himself. Knowing full well that his opposition to the Latin missionaries would result in his downfall and perhaps imprisonment in the Holy Office, he refused to obey the summons, and left Mosul for Khosrâwa, his native place, from whence he tendered his resignation of the patriarchate. This took place early in 1846; whereupon Monsignor Trioche sent letters from Baghdad to Mosul, ordering that they should be read publicly in the churches, in which he assumed patriarchal authority, and styled himself "Ruler and Director of the Chaldeans." Several of the priests refused to read the obnoxious epistles, and the whole community was in a ferment, some inveighing against the encroachments of Rome, others clamouring for the return of Mar Zeyya, whilst a few held with the Vicar Apostolic. This state of things continued for several months, until at length the supporters of the ex-patriarch, on being assured by him that he would not resume that office, gave way, and Mutran Yoosef was appointed to succeed him, not however without some manifestations of opposition which continue to this day. Mar Yoosef was raised to the patriarchate in 1846.

The present Chaldean hierarchy is as follows:

Mar Yoosef, Patriarch, resides at Alkôsh and Mosul.
Mutran Botros of Diarbekir.
„ Michael of Sert.
„ Ignatius of Mardeen.
„ Basileos of Jezeerah.
„ Laurentius of Kerkook.
„ Zeyya, ex-Patriarch, resides at Khosrâwa.
„ (name unknown), consecrated Metropolitan of Khosrâwa by Mar Yoosef in 1848.
„ Elîa, officiates as presbyter at Baghdad.

It does not appear that any limit of separate territorial jurisdiction was fixed at the time of the great schism in the sixteenth century, when the primacy over the Nestorians was first divided between two Patriarchs. The rival claims of each to be consi-

dered supreme spiritual head over the entire community necessarily prevented any such amicable settlement. The political recognition of the Elîas by the Porte gave them ecclesiastical authority over the plains, and over such parts of the mountains as acknowledged the Ottoman sway; and from this circumstance their jurisdiction came to be considered as being bounded on the north by the Tyari, (which until the last few years was almost independent of the Turkish government) although there are many Nestorians dwelling in the mountain-districts between Mosul and that province, who, from not having gone over to the communion of Rome, still regard Mar Shimoon as their Patriarch. The fact is that the greatest confusion exists with respect to the extent of the two patriarchates, and the only rule now obtaining is this: such villages as still adhere to Nestorianism look up to Mar Shimoon as their head; and, on the other hand, those who join the seceders place themselves under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch. We have already seen how five new Chaldean Bishops were created without any appropriate dioceses: these have since been scattered over this region wherever the number of the seceders called for episcopal superintendence; or, for lack of so good a reason, where such an appointment was likely to contribute to further proselytism from the ranks of the Nestorians. During his occupancy as Bishop of the See of Amedia, Mutran Yoosef succeeded in reducing many villages of the Supna to the obedience of Rome; but the long residence of Mar Shimoon at Mosul affording the Nestorians in the mountain-districts south of the Tyari frequent opportunities of consulting him on their ecclesiastical affairs, which they were debarred in a great measure from doing whilst he continued secluded in Central Coordistan, has put a check upon further proselytism, and not a few of the later seceders have returned to their ancient faith and discipline.

I shall now proceed to give a statistical account of the existing Chaldean dioceses.

Mar Yoosef, besides exercising the functions of Patriarch, has the episcopal superintendence of Mosul and the neighbouring villages, Baghdad, and the See of Amedia.*

* It is rumoured that the Patriarch intends shortly to consecrate one of his nephews to this latter See.

The following is the number of churches, clergy, and population comprehended within the diocese of Mosul.

	Churches.	Priests.	Families.
Mosul	5	6	350
Telkêf	2	4	320
Batnaia	1	1	60
Tell Iskof	1	2	110
Bakôfa	1	1	20
Alkôsh	2	4	250
Kermelis	2	1	25
Piyyòs	1	1	20
Anseriyyah	0	0	10
	15	20	1160

Diocese of Baghdad.

Baghdad, (Mutran Elîa resides here as presbyter)	1	2	60

Diocese of Amedia.

Dehòk	On the borders of the mountains west of Kabban Hormuzd.	1	1	50
Maalthâya		1	0	20
Shiyyoz		0	0	20
MarYaacoob, or Ka Sepher		1	1	21
Dizzi	In the Mezuriyeh district behind Sheikh Adi.	0	0	20
Bidwil		1	0	20
Bebôzi		1	0	10
Mézi		1	0	7
Tcamân		1	0	4
Atoosh		2	0	11
Amedia	In the Supna, comprehended within the province of Bahdinân.	0	0	3
Menghèsh		1	3	150
Daoodia		0	0	30
Tineh		1	1	30
Arâden		2	1	50
Inishk		1	1	20
		14	8	466

Diocese of Diarbekir.

Diarbekir	1	3	120
Tcarookhia	1	1	30
	2	4	150

Diocese of Mardeen.

	Churches.	Priests.	Families.
Mardeen	1	4	60

Diocese of Sert.

I have not been able to learn with exactness the details of the Chaldeans in this district. The annexed summary is, I believe, a tolerably correct estimate of the churches, clergy, and population of the eleven villages included within the diocese	12	9	300

Diocese of Jezeerah.

Jezeerah	1	1	60
Zakho . . (In the valley of the Kahboor west of Zakho.)	0	0	8
Takiân . (In the valley of the Kahboor west of Zakho.)	1	1	15
Peishaboor . (In the valley of the Kahboor west of Zakho.)	1	2	60
Girki Pedròs (In the valley of the Kahboor west of Zakho.)	1	0	12
Tell Kabbeen (In the valley of the Kahboor west of Zakho.)	1	1	10
Beidar. (In the valley of the Kahboor west of Zakho.)	1	0	14
	6	5	179

It is said that besides the above there are a few Chaldean villages in the mountains of Buhtân comprehended within this diocese.

Diocese of Kerkook.

Kerkook . (Between Baghdad and the Great Zab river.*)	1	2	40
Shaklâwa . (Between Baghdad and the Great Zab river.*)	1	1	30
Armoota . (Between Baghdad and the Great Zab river.*)	1	1	25
Ainkâwa . (Between Baghdad and the Great Zab river.*)	1	2	55
There are also three villages in the district of Sina, on the borders of Persia, said to contain	4	3	68
	8	9	218

Diocese of Khosrâwa.

Khosrâwa	2	3	150

The Chaldeans of Mosul tell me that there are several other villages in the valley of Salamast, north of Ooroomiah, which acknowledge canonical obedience to the Bishop of Khosrâwa. Not having visited the district myself I cannot vouch for the truth of this statement.

* I visited this district during a trip which I made from Baghdad to Mosul in 1843; but the route is generally so devoid of interest that I have intentionally omitted any account of it in my narrative.

If the above estimate is correct, and I can vouch for the tolerable exactness of the greater portion of it, the present Chaldean community in the East does not exceed 20,000 souls, scattered over a large surface of country extending from Diarbekir to the frontiers of Persia, and from the borders of Tyari to Baghdad,—a district which in former ages contained a vast Nestorian population.

If we compare the present Chaldean community with the condition of their Nestorian forefathers, as deducible from the account given of them by Mutran Hanna in his autobiography, justice demands that we should acknowledge the superiority of the former in civilization, general intelligence, and ecclesiastical order. Whilst, on the other hand, if we draw a parallel betwixt them and the Nestorians even as late as the thirteenth century, the latter may justly claim the palm of pre-eminence in all these respects, in proof of which we may bring forward the writings of those famous authors who flourished among them at that period. Like the Papal Syrians, the Chaldeans have profited by their communion and intercourse with Rome, from whence they have learned something of European advancement, and their youth who have been educated at the Propaganda are undoubtedly more generally intelligent than those brought up in this country. They have, moreover, established a few schools in several of their dioceses; and although the instruction conveyed is restricted to the elements of science, and is made conformable to the errors of the Papacy, still we must regard the attempt to raise the minds of their people as a decided improvement upon the ignorance and want of all scholastic teaching, which existed among the Nestorians of the plains before their secession to Rome. I speak now more especially of the towns and adjacent villages, for in the more secluded districts the Chaldeans generally are as ignorant as their Nestorian neighbours, and the only benefit which they have derived from a change of name and communion, apart from their rejection of the doctrine of the Two Persons in our blessed Lord, is the promise of political protection from France, and an occasional present of ecclesiastical vestments, church ornaments, pictures of saints, rosaries, &c., which latter gifts, I am happy to say, the later proselytes to Rome know not how to use, and show no disposition to learn.

The suspension of the annual remittances to the Bishops from the Society of Lyons, together with the revolutions which have taken place in Italy and in France, and the effect which these political changes have had upon the diplomatic agents of the latter kingdom in Turkey, rendering them in many instances less zealous in forwarding the views of the Latin missionaries, have combined to weaken the attachment of the Papal Eastern communities to Rome. These influences, joined with a love of independence, and a strong traditional attachment to their ancient rights and rituals, which have been encroached upon and altered since their submission to a foreign supremacy, have tended to make the Chaldeans more and more restless under the Papal yoke; and I am persuaded that an offer of friendly assistance from our Church to enable them to carry out their desires for a radical reform would be hailed with gratitude by two or more of their Bishops, and by many of the most influential members of their community. It would not be prudent to mention names; but thus much may be said, that several of the clergy at Mosul and a number of the villages have expressed to me their readiness to enter upon the task whenever the Church of England, as a Church, shall offer to co-operate with them in restoring the Chaldeans to the pure Catholic faith, and in otherwise endeavouring to raise the standard of true and vital religion and intellectual science among them.

I shall now make a few remarks upon the two names, Nestorians and Chaldeans, which I have used throughout this work to designate the followers of the doctrine of the Two Persons in our blessed LORD after the teaching of Nestorius in the fifth century and the modern seceders therefrom to the Church of Rome. Ainsworth in his "Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, &c.," styles the Nestorians "Chaldeans;"[19] and Mr. Layard in his "Nineveh and its Remains" adopts the same nomenclature, which he attempts to defend. Let us now see how the statements of these authors are borne out by facts. In the first place, then, I beg to observe that the term "Chaldean" is not once used in any one of the ancient Nestorian rituals to designate a Christian community. The *Gezza* contains the services proper for two festivals commemorative of the Greek and *Syrian* Doctors, in the latter of which Nestorius,

Theodorus, and the later *Nestorian* Fathers, are introduced by name. This agrees with the appellative used to designate his co-religionists by Mar Abd Yeshua, Metropolitan of Nisibis in the thirteenth century, who in his catalogue of "*Syrian* Fathers" enumerates the most eminent *Nestorian* divines who had preceded him.* It also agrees with the common usage of the Nestorians at the present day, who call themselves Soorâyé (Syrians), and their language Soorith (Syriac).

Mr. Layard says: "It is difficult to ascertain when it [the name 'Nestorian' applied to the Chaldeans] was first used, probably not before the Roman Catholic missionaries, who were brought into contact with them, found it necessary and politic to treat them as schismatics, and to bestow upon them a title which conveyed the stigma of a heresy."† If this remark is intended to apply generally, it is incorrect, since ecclesiastical history mentions the Nestorian sect in these parts since the time of its founder; and, on the other hand, if it is meant thereby that it is difficult to decide when the Nestorians first applied the title to themselves this would contradict the author's own statement, who says of it: "But by the Chaldeans themselves [meaning the Nestorians], the name has ever been disavowed." Here again he is in error, since Mar Abd Yeshua, whose authority has just been quoted, drew up a symbol of faith which he entitles, "The orthodox creed of the Nestorians," a translation of which is given in Vol. II., Chap. VI., § 7, and he concludes the work wherein the creed is found with the following sentence: "This useful book was written in the month of September, in the year of Alexander, 1609, in the blessed city of Khlât, in the church of the blessed *Nestorians*." Neither are the Nestorians of the present day so averse to the appellation, as is shown in Chap. XIV. of this volume, and again in Vol. II., Chap. VI., but they resent it if applied by way of stigma, and when intended to convey the reproach that they have abandoned the SAVIOUR to follow a creature.

Whenever the term "Chaldeans" occurs in the Nestorian rituals, which it does only in two instances, it is not used to designate a Christian community, but the ancient sect, who

* See Vol. II., Appendix A. Part IV.

† Nineveh and its Remains, Vol. I. p. 259.

have been called also "Sabeans," or worshippers of the heavenly host, from the Semitic root צבא. Mar Abd Yeshua uses it in the same sense; thus he writes: "Gawrièl, Bishop of Hormuzdshir, wrote a work against Manes, and another against the *Chaldeans*;" and again: "Daniel, of Reish Aina, wrote poems against the Marcionites, Manichees, heretics, and *Chaldeans*."*

But if it be maintained, that the modern Nestorians are descendants of the ancient Chaldeans, and may therefore justly lay claim to the title, no valid objection can be urged against the assumption; but in this *national* acceptation of the term, the Nestorian proselytes to Rome, the Jacobites, Sabeans, Yezeedees, and many of the Coords of this district, may with equal right take to themselves the appellative, there being as much proof to establish their descent from the Chaldeans of old, or rather the Assyrians, as there is in the case of the Nestorians. It is evidently in this sense that Assemanni uses the term in the following extract, which Mr. Layard adduces in support of his theory, but which in reality militates against it: "Chaldeans or Assyrians; whom, from that part of the globe which they inhabit, we term Orientals; and from the heresy which they profess, Nestorians." There can be no doubt but that the Chaldeans were of the same family with the Assyrians, who were also called Syrians, by which name, as we have seen, the mountain Nestorians, and the Papal Chaldeans of the plains, who speak the vulgar Syriac, still designate themselves. This, however, is not the subject of dispute; but whether the term "Chaldeans" was or is used of the Nestorians by themselves or others. I have proved that it is not. They call themselves Soorâyé, Nestorayé, and sometimes Christiané and Meshihâyé, but never Chaldâyé or Chaldâni. Dr. Grant's testimony goes to establish the above statements; his words are these: "CHALDEAN is a name commonly used to designate the papal, but it is seldom applied to the orthodox [!] Nestorians; and, when so applied, it is used to express their relation to Abraham, who was from 'Ur of the Chaldees.'"†

The origin of the term "Chaldean" as applied to a Christian sect, is correctly given in the following extract from Smith and Dwight's "Researches in Armenia:"—"The present Chaldean

* See Vol. II. Appendix A. Part IV.

† The Nestorians; or, the Lost Tribes, p. 170.

Christians are of recent origin. It was in A. D. 1681, that the Nestorian Metropolitan of Diarbekir, having quarrelled with his patriarch, was first consecrated by the Pope patriarch of the Chaldeans. The sect was as new as the office, and created for it. Converts to papacy from the Nestorian and Jacobite churches* were united in one body, and dignified by the name of the Chaldean Church. It means no more than Papal Syrians, as we have in other parts Papal Armenians and Papal Greeks." After giving this quotation, Dr. Grant remarks: "There appears to be no propriety in applying this name to the Nestorians *as a Christian sect;* and its casual employment among them is a circumstance of little importance, except as it may lead to wrong conclusions respecting their origin. If its occasional use proves any thing regarding their origin, it indicates their relation to the Father of the Faithful, agreeably to their own explanations."† When the Latin missionaries had succeeded in forming a schism among the Nestorians of Diarbekir, they wanted a name whereby to designate the proselytes. In other instances the *national* title of the parent body supplied a ready and unobjectionable appellative. Thus, by prefixing the term "Catholic," they adequately, and according to their views appropriately distinguished the seceders from the Greek, Armenian, and Syrian communities. A difficulty now arose; the new converts styled themselves "Soorâyé" and "Nestorayé." The Romanists could not call them "Catholic Syrians," or "Syrian Catholics," for this appellation they had already given to their proselytes from the Jacobites, who also called themselves "Syrians." They could not term them "Catholic Nestorians," as Mr. Justin Perkins, the Independent American missionary does,‡ for this would involve a contradiction. What more natural, then, than that they should have applied to them the title of "Chaldeans," to which they had some claims *nationally* in virtue of their Assyrian descent?

This, then, was the first use of the term as applied to a Christian community, and I can confidently vouch for the fact,

* This is a mistake; no proselytes from the Jacobites were received into the Chaldean Community.

† The Nestorians, &c., ut supra.

‡ Residence in Persia among the Nestorians, p. 171.

that it was never before used by the Nestorians in any such acceptation. It is true, indeed, that the present Mar Shimoon styles himself in his official documents "Patriarch of the East," and "Patriarch of the Chaldeans;" but this latter title he or his immediate predecessors most probably assumed to put themselves on an equality with the Patriarchs of the plains, after they had joined the Church of Rome and taken that appellation, and as a stratagem to repel the name of "Nestorian," which then more especially began to be regarded as a reproachful epithet through the aspersions cast upon it by the Latin missionaries. The Nestorians, generally, as we have seen, disavowed the title, nor is there the shadow of a proof that the Eastern Patriarchs ever used it. I have before me the impression of a seal belonging to one of the late Elîas of Alkôsh, which bears the following motto: "The undeserving Elîa, by grace Patriarch and Occupant of the throne of Addai and Mari." This was the title by which the Nestorian Primates designated themselves before their submission to Rome, and the same is inscribed on all the tombs of the deceased Patriarchs whose remains were buried in the convent of Rabban Hormuzd; so that when Mr. Layard writes: "In the chapel [of Rabban Hormuzd] are the tombs of several Patriarchs of the Chaldean Church,[20] buried here long before its divisions, and whose titles, carved upon the monuments, are always 'Patriarch of the Chaldeans of the East,'"* he makes a serious mistake. I have examined with care all the epitaphs, and could not discover therein any such phraseology.

The language of the Nestorians I have called Syriac, since it is precisely the same as that used by the Jacobite Syrians, the only difference being in the form of the character and the vowel-points, which were altered by Gregory Bar Hebræus, the Monophysite doctor, in the 13th century. For distinction's sake, however, it is sometimes styled "Syro-Chaldaic," a term not indeed strictly correct, but for want of a better by no means inapplicable.

* Nineveh and its Remains, vol. i. p. 236.

CHAPTER XII.

Political relations of the different governments around Mosul previous to 1840.—Mohammed Pasha acquires jurisdiction over Bahdinân and Buhtân.—His murder of the governor of Zakho.—His attempt to entrap Bedr Khan Beg, who prepares to resist his aggressions.—The Coords plunder the Tyari Nestorians in 1841, and the latter retaliate.—Intrigues of Mohammed Pasha to get possession of the Tyari country.—His attempt upon Bedr Khan Beg's life.—History of the mission-house built by Dr. Grant at Asheetha.—Visit of Romish missionaries to Asheetha.—Mohammed Pasha's enmity to the Nestorians, and his report upon Dr. Grant's building.—His treacherous dealings with regard to that missionary.—The Coords propose to throw off the Ottoman yoke, and invite the Nestorian Patriarch to join them.—Mar Shimoon refuses and appeals to the Pasha of Mosul.—Internal dissensions among the Nestorian and Coordish tribes in central Coordistan.—Testimony of Mons. Boré and Mr. Ainsworth on this subject.

Before resuming the narrative of our mission, I shall proceed to lay before my readers a short account of the political condition of the districts around Mosul, in order that they may be the better able to understand the nature of those intrigues and machinations which finally resulted in the massacre of the mountain Nestorians.

The character of Mohammed Pasha, of Mosul, surnamed Injé Beirakdâr, has been pourtrayed in a former chapter; but as this individual acted so important a part in the after affairs of the Nestorians, I shall endeavour to expose more fully the feelings which actuated his conduct towards that unfortunate community. We have already seen by what cruelly vigorous measures he succeeded in establishing his authority, not only over the rebellious inhabitants of Mosul, but also over the predatory Arabs of the desert, and Yezeedees of Sinjâr. After having reduced these tribes to abject submission, his thirst of power and love of gain led him to hanker after an extension of

the territory allotted to him by the Sublime Porte. The provinces of Bahdinân and Buhtân, being the nearest to Mosul on the north, were the first which excited his cupidity; and he endeavoured by every means in his power to get these two districts annexed to his pashalic. Bahdinân* was at this time nominally subject to Baghdad, but had been ruled for ages by an hereditary Coordish chieftainship, of which Ismael Pasha was the living representative. In 1832 the Coordish Pasha of Rawandooz took possession of the strong fortress of Amedia, and placed it under the command of Rasool Beg his brother. The constant disturbances and insurrections which arose in consequence of the intrigues of these two rival chiefs, the one striving to hold what he had obtained by conquest, and the other to regain possession of what he had lost (fomented as they were by Mohammed Pasha, who nevertheless was the first to report to the supreme government the anarchical state of the district), finally induced the Porte to add the whole of Bahdinân to the Mosul pashalic, by which concession the authority of Mohammed Pasha was extended to the borders of the Tyari country.

But not satisfied with this addition of territory, Mohammed Pasha found means to prevail upon the Porte to place Buhtân also under his sway. This province, which comprises the whole of the district west of Bahdinân as far as Jezeerah, and stretches northward to the west of Tyari, was under the immediate jurisdiction of Bedr Khan Beg, and, in a late reform attempted by the Turkish government for regulating the condition and political relations of the Coordish and other mountain tribes in this part of its dominions, had been annexed to the pashalic of Diarbekir. Mohammed Pasha found it a comparatively easy task to convince the Porte that this arrangement was likely to be productive of great inconvenience to the two pashalics, and upon his repeatedly promising to establish the Sultan's authority more firmly in Coordistan, and thus to increase the revenue of the government, Buhtân was transferred from Diarbekir and made a dependency of Mosul.

These concessions took place in the early part of 1841, and

* The province of Bahdinân borders upon the Tyari country on the north, and contains two towns, namely, Zakho and Amedia.

Mohammed Pasha lost no time in endeavouring to make good his jurisdiction over the newly-acquired districts. His first efforts were directed against the hereditary Coordish chiefs, being fully persuaded that whilst these continued to share the government with him, his ambitious designs must fail of perfect success. Accordingly, in December of that year, he sent a party of soldiers to Zakho, under pretence of escorting some military clothing to Mosul, but with secret instructions of a widely different nature. The soldiers executed their mission to the letter by murdering the governor, his nephew, and several other members of his household. Zakho was then placed under a *Mutsellim* appointed by the Pasha of Mosul.

Shortly after this, Mohammed Pasha requested Bedr Khan Beg to appear before him: but the treachery practised upon the governor of Zakho was of two recent occurrence to induce the wily Coord to accept the invitation. His refusal to obey so incensed the pasha, that he sent him word to prepare for a visit which he intended to pay him at Jezeerah. The threat concealed under this message was not lost upon Bedr Khan Beg, who forthwith proceeded to build castles in different parts of the mountains, and otherwise to fortify himself against any sudden attack on the part of Mohammed Pasha. The poor Christians of Buhtân were the principal labourers employed on these military works, and not only were they made to serve without pay, but numbers were maimed for life by the heavy weights which they were forced to carry.

About this time a party of Berwari Coords seized upon some flocks belonging to the Tyari Nestorians, and killed several of their men. This act was followed by instant reprisals: the Nestorians entered the Berwari district, took from the Coords more than they had lost, and then retired to their mountain fastnesses. There is reason to believe that Mohammed Pasha himself was the instigator of this outrage, in order to compromise the Christians of Tyari, against whom he sought some real ground of complaint. On hearing what had occurred, he ordered several of the Bahdinân tribes to assist those of Berwari against the Nestorians; but the winter of 1841 having set in, put a stop to the projected invasion. He also wrote to the Pasha of Erzeroom, requesting him to send a force from Van

during the following spring to attack the Nestorians on the east, while he promised to co-operate with him and fall upon them on the south and west.

The protracted siege of Amedia, which resisted for several months the most vigorous measures made to reduce it, and the disturbances created in Bahdinân and Berwari by Ismael Pasha in his efforts to regain possession of his hereditary rights, gave Mohammed Pasha's army full employment during the spring of 1842, and diverted him from any warlike attempt upon the Tyari country. Mohammed Pasha, however, proved that he could at least think of more than one enemy at a time, and could wield other than military weapons. After some persuasion, he succeeded in inducing Said Beg, a nephew of Bedr Khan Beg's, to come to Mosul, where he entered into a secret league with him to betray his uncle and compass his death. Said Beg was accordingly despatched to the valley of Zakho with a friendly message from Mohammed Pasha to the Emeer of Buhtân; but the object of his mission becoming known to the Coordish chief, a strong detachment of soldiers was sent against him, who inflicted a severe chastisement upon the tribe to which he belonged, and carried away with them a considerable booty. When Mohammed Pasha learned that his stratagem had signally failed, he wrote a letter to Bedr Khan Beg congratulating him on his fortunate escape, and praising him for the rigour with which he had punished the offenders!

During the summer of this year (1842) the late Dr. Grant,* of the American Independent Board of Missions, commenced building premises for an extensive missionary establishment at Ashectha, the largest village in Tyari, and the nearest to the Berwari district. He himself informed me before his death, that on asking leave of Mar Shimoon to commence the undertaking, the Patriarch referred him to Noorallah Beg, the Coordish Emeer of Hakkari, pleading at the time that he had not the power of granting his request. Noorallah Beg gave the necessary permission, and the Doctor remained in the Tyari country to superintend the building. There is reason to

* Dr. Grant is well known in Europe and America as the author of "The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes," an ingenious attempt made to prove that the Nestorians are the descendants of the "dispersed of Israel."

believe that the Nestorians generally looked upon this proceeding with suspicion, not so much on account of any plans which the zealous missionary had in view, but because the work was carried on under the sanction of Noorallah Beg, their avowed master and secret enemy. It appears that it was part of the doctor's plan to sink several wells within the walls of the house, in order to obviate the necessity of bringing water from the stream which runs below the village. The Nestorians stoutly refused to dig these wells, and on being expostulated with, demanded of the doctor whether he expected to be besieged. This fact, which I relate upon Dr. Grant's own testimony, is sufficient to prove that the Nestorians had some misgivings with respect to the undertaking; and I am inclined to believe, from the after-fate of the building, that the crafty Emeer, in giving his permission for its erection, secretly entertained the hope, that at no distant day it would be of essential service to him in his designs upon the indomitable Nestorians. He had not as yet sufficient power or authority to attempt himself the erection of a fortress in the Tyari country; but under the guise of friendship for Dr. Grant, to whom he was indebted for his valuable professional services, and of good-will towards the Nestorians who manifested some regard for him, he gave his sanction to the building of a mission-house, which he eventually hoped to turn into a castle. Supposing, however, that this hypothesis is well founded, the most prejudiced judgment must acquit the departed missionary of having been a conscious party to any such scheme of aggression on the part of the Coords, or of ever having knowingly acted otherwise than as he sincerely believed would tend to the spiritual and temporal benefit of the mountain Nestorians.

Whilst Dr. Grant was residing in the Tyari country Mutran Yoosef, the Chaldean bishop of Amedia, accompanied by a Dominican monk, found their way to Asheetha, and held a long conference with Mar Shimoon and several of his clergy. The object of this mission was to induce the Nestorian patriarch by promises of large sums of money, and political assistance from France, to submit to the Roman See. Mons. Boré, who had been deputed by the Society of Lyons to report upon the probable success of a scheme of this nature, had given his opinion

in these words: "Le clef de leur pays est dans les mains du patriarche qui habite le couvent de Kochânes. S'il revenait à l'Eglise, tout le peuple des montagnes, son troupeau spirituel, imiterait cette soumission."* Two thousand francs were accordingly remitted from the aforesaid Society with the avowed object of making a proselyte of Mar Shimoon, and the most sanguine hopes of success were entertained by the papal party. After a discussion which lasted for several days, the missionaries were obliged to leave the country without having made the least favourable impression upon the Nestorians or their chief; and it is to be feared that had they not retreated in time they would have been expelled from the Tyari by force. A native eye-witness informed me that the conference was broken up by Mar Yohanan, a Nestorian bishop of Ooroomiah, and a zealous supporter of the Independent missionaries, who addressed the meeting to the following effect: "Fathers and brethren! If a Mohammedan were to come amongst us, and ask us to embrace the religion of the False Prophet, should we listen to him or bid him welcome? Even so these men are come hither to seduce us, and I beg that they be no longer entertained."

Mohammed Pasha had not forgotten the Nestorians all this time, but continued his intrigues against them, and sent frequent reports to Constantinople representing them as a race of robbers and rebels who set at nought the authority of the Sultan. He moreover directed Abd-ool-Samed Beg, the Emeer of Berwari, to write him a letter respecting the house which Dr. Grant was then erecting it Asheetha, and dictated to him how he was to describe it. This letter, which was accordingly written, informed the Pasha that a certain Englishman was raising an extraordinary edifice in the Tyari country measuring 300 yards square, and containing no less than 250 rooms, and that as many Nestorians were engaged in completing it. Mohammed Pasha lost no time in forwarding this lying production to the Porte, hoping that it might induce the government to place the Tyari under his supervision, and authorize him to put a stop to the building. There can be no doubt, moreover, that as he anticipated ultimate success in his projects, he was anxious that no Franks should be present when he first assumed the government of the Tyari

* Correspondance d'Orient, vol. ii. p. 232.

provinces. He had already begun to feel that the existence of a British Vice-Consul at Mosul, acted as a restraint upon his proceedings generally, and that he could no longer exercise his former tyranny and despotism with the same recklessness and publicity; and he could not brook the idea that any foreigner should have the opportunity of acting as a spy or reporter upon his projected rule over the Nestorians. He had written frequent complaints against Mr. Rassam, hoping to get him removed from the consulate, and there is good ground for believing that he actually directed Khaled Beg, his Persian secretary, to write to his brother Tatar Beg, the governor of Nerwa, in Bahdinân, to put Dr. Grant out of the way, first by decoying him to a place of safety, and then by murdering him in cold blood with as much secresy as possible. The unsettled state of the Tyari, and rumours of a projected attack upon the Nestorians by the Coords, induced the doctor to leave Asheetha before this nefarious scheme could be put into execution, and he returned to Mosul in December, 1842, bringing with him all his moveable property which he did not consider safe to be left in the mountains. The treacherous Pasha welcomed his arrival, and shortly after requested him to attend him professionally.

About this time Bedr Khan Beg and Ziner Beg, the generalissimo of the Buhtân army, accompanied by Ismael Pasha, the ex-governor of Amedia, marched to the frontiers of Berwari, and invited the Coordish chiefs of that district to join them in an attempt to throw off their subjection to the Ottoman government. They also sent a message to Mar Shimoon, calling upon him to take part in the same league; whereupon the Nestorian patriarch lost no time in forwarding an account of this confederacy to Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, disclaiming any participation in the insurrection, and expressing a sincere desire to act in accordance with the wishes of the Sultan. The Pasha, who saw in this fresh outbreak a valid ground of complaint against the Coords, was highly delighted that he had been referred to by the patriarch, and was now led to hope that the government of the Tyari would not be withheld from him much longer. For the present, at least, his anticipations were destined to be disappointed. The Pasha of Erzeroom, who was nominally the governor of the Hakkari and Tyari tribes, having laid several

complaints against him, the Porte sent him a severe reproof for his intrigues in Coordistan, and ordered him to abstain in future from meddling with the affairs of other pashalics.

I have now brought down the account of the different external influences which were in active operation to compass the downfall of the Nestorians up to the period of our arrival at Mosul, and I can confidently say that the authority upon which the foregoing statements rest is indisputable. Of the internal political condition of the mountain tribes, little was known with any degree of certainty at that time, and I shall reserve for the present what I afterwards learned of the causes springing therefrom which conspired with those already adduced to bring about the massacre of the unfortunate Nestorians. That the country was in a very disturbed state owing to the dissensions which existed betwixt the Coords and Nestorians is clear from the separate testimony of Mons. Boré and Mr. Ainsworth, and their statements alone, made several years before my visit to the Tyari, are sufficient to belie the malicious slanders which were so freely circulated respecting our mission. A correspondent of one of the London daily newspapers, in giving an account of the slaughter of the Nestorians, made me in conjunction with the American and Romish missionaries the immediate cause of this outrage. Who his informant was is not stated, neither on what grounds the accusation was made, but there is every reason to believe that the author of the libel was an enemy to the Church and to religion generally. The following extracts go indeed to show that the Coords were becoming jealous of the frequent visits made by Franks to the mountain Nestorians;* but I shall hereafter be able to prove beyond all doubt, that this circumstance had really very little influence in hastening a crisis which had long before been planned and anticipated. Unsettled feuds of long standing were still rife and open betwixt the Coords and Christians of central Coordistan, and the growing power of the former, fostered as it now was by the countenance and support of the bigoted Emeer of Buhtân, made them more and more

* The Coords of these districts look upon all the late changes in the Turkish government as the result of European influence; and I have no doubt that the jealousy of Franks manifested by the Coords of central Coordistan sprung from this source,—they regarded them as the forerunner of Osmanli despotism.

impatient that a people whom they looked upon as infidels should share with them the government of the mountains. Mons. Boré, writing from Persia in 1839, thus describes the state of feeling existing between the Nestorian patriarch and Noorallah Beg: "Mar Simon vit en fort mauvaise intelligence avec le petit souverain de Djulamerk; et, si celui-ci ne craignait le vengeance des montagnards, il l'aurait expulsé depuis longtemps du monastère, situé à quatre lieues de sa ville." And, again, speaking of the internal dissensions of the mountain tribes he says: "La tribu de Tiari, qui compte sept mille âmes, a une charte commune avec les cantons de Thekboumi et d'Artousch, où vivent des Curdes, amis de leur confederation. Diz, Baz, Bervez, Djélon et des Curdes Pinochi forment un parti opposé. Des dissensions, entretenues par un interêt contraire, divisent leurs forces, et font celle des princes curdes qui les entourent. S'ils étaient unis, toutes les tribus des Curdes, que des rivalités et des querelles interminables affaiblissent et épuisent, ne pourraient leur résister . . . En plusieurs rencontres, les Chaldéens [Nestoriens] leur ont donné de sanglantes preuves de leur supériorité. C'est la terreur que leur inspirent ces hommes libres qui les empêche d'opprimer les autres Chaldéens [Nestoriens,] et qui force le bey de Djulamerk à souffrir sur son territoire leur patriarche, dont il est l'ennemi. Les Chaldéens [Nestoriens] des montagnes se vengent, à l'égard des Curdes vivant au milieu d'eux, des humiliations que ceux-ci, comme musulmans, prodiguent ailleurs aux chrétiens; et ils les appellent, à titre de représailles, leur raïas."*

Ainsworth also describes the unsettled state of the mountaineers during his visit in 1840. Not far from Julamerk his party was met by the governor of a Coordish village, who addressed him as follows: "What do you do here? are you not aware that Franks are not allowed in this country? No dissimulation! I must know what you are, and what is your business. Who brought these people here?" turning round in a haughty peremptory way. "I," said one of the Chaldeans [Nestorians], laying his hand upon his breast in an undaunted manner. The bey turned again, and said more deliberately and quietly: "You are the forerunners of those who come to take this country;

* Correspondance d'Orient, vol. ii. pp. 235, 244, 245.

therefore it is best that we should first take what you have, as you will afterwards take our property." And again, speaking of Noorallah Beg, the same author writes: "This chieftain had foreseen that the changes occurring in the east, must sooner or later cause his country to fall under the domination of a stronger power than his; but above all, he disliked the position in which he stood with regard to the Patriarch of the Chaldeans [Nestorians,] over whom he claimed superiority, and whom yet he could not dictate to. He had thus been led to barter his independence for a recognition of his power by Hafiz Pasha of Erzeroom, and had returned back by the influence of Turkey, at once to keep in control his own restless predatory tribes, and also to extinguish the power of the Patriarch, of which he had always been extremely jealous. From the new ties of friendship that the Christian bishop had been lately and suddenly entering into, with the English on the one hand, and the Americans of Ooroomiah on the other, his enmity now burst into an open flame, and ultimately led to the Patriarch being betrayed into the hands of the Turks.* As far as I am concerned, I extremely regret that the mission I was engaged in, should have hastened a catastrophe, painful in itself, and calculated, unless timely assistance and consolation, and strengthening advice is given to the mountaineers, to subvert the sacred independence which has withstood so many ages of trial and persecution, and to sap the ancient institutions of their glorious Church to the very foundations."†

After the above testimonies I shall leave the reader to judge how a friendly visit of three days which I made to Mar Shimoon at Asheetha, in February, 1843, (a detailed account of which shall be given in the sequel,) could have had any influence whatever in bringing about the slaughter of the Nestorians in the month of June following. The charge is too preposterous to be dwelt upon, and I shall therefore drop this division of our subject for the present to resume the narrative of our mission from the date of our arrival at Mosul.

* On this subject Mr. Ainsworth was wrongly informed; Mar Shimoon was never betrayed into the hands of the Turks.

† Travels and researches in Asia Minor, &c. vol. ii. pp. 242, 253, 254.

CHAPTER XIII.

Missionary labours at Mosul.—The Chaldeans desire a reform in their Church.—Difficulties in the way.—Extract of a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on this subject.—Departure for the Tyari country.—Journey to Amedia.—Kasha Mendu.—Description of Amedia.—Spiritual destitution of the Nestorians in this district.—Syriac MSS.—Ancient name of Amedia.—Jews of this town.—Ainsworth's Persian temple, what.—Tyranny and exactions of the Government.—Preparations for departure.

The severe fever which attacked several of our party a few days after we had reached Mosul, confined me to my bed for three months, and it was the middle of January, 1843, before I was able to leave the house. Mrs. Badger suffered for some weeks longer, and I record with gratitude the kind professional services which Dr. Grant spontaneously offered us during our sickness. After I had recovered, much of my time was at first taken up with collecting the different items of information respecting the Nestorians and Chaldeans which have been given in the foregoing pages, and in holding constant intercourse with the Christians of Mosul and the surrounding villages. Difficulties soon began to spring up in our path; many of the Chaldean laity and several of the clergy expressed a desire to join our communion until a reformed Chaldean body could be organized independent of the See of Rome. Again and again were we urged to receive them by such appeals as these: "What are we to do? Do you advise us to submit to the papal innovations in doctrine and discipline? and, if not, and you are come hither with the design of assisting us, why do you not help us to restore our church to its original purity?" We now began to feel the want of competent authority to direct us as to what course we ought to pursue under these circumstances, and I accordingly wrote to the committee of the Gospel Propagation

Society, requesting them to lay the subject before the Bishops of the Church at home, and to make known to me their decision. In the meantime we continued to keep up friendly relations with the well-disposed Chaldeans, distributed many copies of the Sacred Scriptures and other books to those who anxiously sought after them, and availed ourselves of every opportunity to explain to them the doctrines and discipline of our Church, of which we found them in general profoundly ignorant, owing chiefly to the misrepresentations of the Latin missionaries who had gone so far as to spread the report that the Arabic edition of our Prayer Book was not in reality the ritual of the Anglican Church, but a fiction got up by us to delude the eastern Christians.

The following extract from a report which I forwarded about this time to the Gospel Propagation Society contains the substance of the suggestions which I then made with regard to the opening among the Chaldeans of Mosul: "I wish the question to be determined by the proper authorities at home, whether I am to render the Chaldeans every assistance in my power to enable them to throw off the usurped supremacy of Rome, and to restore their church to its original independence.* Unless we support the Chaldeans in this way, I am afraid that we shall be able to benefit them but very little by less decided efforts. The Romanists will increase their missionaries and their money; they will call in every other subordinate means to their assistance, or make concessions for a time, until they succeed in crushing every manifestation to the disadvantage of the Roman See. Under such circumstances, and with such opponents, we can hope but little from a school or two which we may establish among them, or from the distribution of books; for it will be in their power to a great extent to prohibit the reading of the latter, and perhaps to prevent any attendance at the former. But if the people know that we are ready to help them to regain their freedom, I am persuaded that no efforts of the Romanists will succeed in turning them away from their purpose, especially when they learn that it is not our wish to destroy but to build up their church,—not to assimilate it to ours, but to see it purified.

* By "independence" I mean freedom from the rule of a foreign bishop; not the being separate from the communion of the Catholic Church.

"But this cannot be done without assistance from the Church at home; for, in the first place, it would be necessary that a grant of money be made annually for some time at least, for the partial support of the bishop and one or two priests who should minister to the spiritual wants of the people, just as some of them now receive assistance from Rome. (Let it not be supposed that the Chaldean clergy to whom I allude would enter upon this work for the sake of gain; for in this respect I propose no amelioration of their actual temporal circumstances. They would the rather undertake it because they knew that they enjoyed the sympathy of a sister church on which they might rely.) These possess already the confidence of many of the people, and would soon thin the ranks of the papal adherents. Schools might then be opened with a good prospect of becoming permanently established, and any other measures might be taken for the improvement of the reformed community, with every hope of success. In the second place they would need a temporary chapel wherein to worship according to the rites of their church, until the time came when their numbers should so increase as to warrant their demanding one or more of the churches in the town. I am not sure that they might not claim this at the outset; but the attempt might create a ferment which it would be prudent to avoid. Should such a plan receive the approbation of our Church, I feel persuaded that with the Divine benediction this community would soon spring up into new life, and become a fruitful branch in the heavenly vine, and moreover that we ourselves should be blessed whilst we conferred a blessing upon our brethren, by being once more united in communion and fellowship with one eastern branch of the Catholic Church of Christ.

"In such a place as the above the superiority of the schools which we could establish, and the ease with which we could supply the people with books, being much greater than the Romanists either can or are in general willing to command, we should by these means materially assist the members of the reformed community to add to their faith such knowledge as would enable them to convince their brethren, and confound the gainsayers.

"Another requisite to this scheme would be the protection of

the reformed Chaldeans from any system of persecution which the Romanists might set on foot through the influence of French political agents. This could be effected in case of necessity by an application to the Porte through our ambassador, that they might be allowed to enjoy equal liberty of conscience and toleration with the Romanists.

"It appears to me that the above is the only plan, (I exclude not modifications such as the Church may see fit to make,) which on the whole seems likely to succeed in these quarters, and I propose it because the actual wants of the people call for its adoption. Several influential Chaldeans have begged me to endeavour to enlist the sympathy of the Church at home in their behalf, and I can reckon upon two or three priests and a bishop who would at once form the nucleus of the reformed community. . . . . Such a plan as that which I have proposed would moreover in its workings be one of the most effectual measures that could be adopted for bringing the Nestorians in Bulitân and Bahdinân into communion with their brethren and the Catholic Church, and thus be the means of effecting another benevolent end which your Society had in view. The Nestorians in these two provinces were formerly included within the patriarchate of Mar Elîa, the patriarch of the plains, and are not subject to Mar Shimoon, the primate over the Nestorian tribes of Central Coordistan. These Christians are now left without any direct spiritual head, having only one bishop, who resides in Jebel Joodi, and who was ordained by the Nestorian patriarch about eighty years ago. Very many of the Nestorian villages in these two districts are consequently left without resident clergy, and are dependent for the ordinances of religion upon the ministrations of a single priest who travels among them from place to place. These simple people in their ignorance and helplessness fall an easy prey to the Romanists, who if they had possessed the means would ere this have subjected the entire territory formerly comprehended within the patriarchate of Mar Elîa to the Papal See. At present the Chaldeans have two bishops in this district, one styling himself Bishop of Jezeerah or Bahdinân, and the other Bishop of Sert, and several priests are abroad among the Nestorians endeavouring to proselyte them to the Church of Rome. Now, were it the design of these mis-

sionaries simply to admit the Nestorians into the bosom of the Catholic Church, and to supply them with spiritual teachers who would lead them in the paths of primitive truth, our Church at home might look on and bid them God speed; but when we know that Rome will rule them with a rod of iron as she did our forefathers,—when we know that she will corrupt the purity of Christian doctrine and practice, and lead those who are now astray yet further from truth and righteousness, the Church I am persuaded will feel it her duty to prevent, as far as in her lies, such sad and deplorable consequences. And if so, as I said before, I do not think that she can accomplish this task more effectually than by beginning with a reformation at Mosul on the plan which has already been laid down. After some time, priests might be sent from the town to the villages in the two provinces alluded to, where they might establish schools and lead the Nestorians back into the Church. This would be a comparatively easy task; for it is not so much because the Romanists receive the council of Ephesus and anathematize Nestorius that the Nestorians are backward to join their ranks, but because of the new and unheard-of doctrines which they are required to believe in order to become 'Catholics.' If, therefore, they saw a reformed church agreeing with them in doctrine and discipline, saving the heresy of Nestorius, there can be little doubt that a speedy union with their brethren would be effected. It is not improbable that the aged Mutran Yoosef of Jebel Joodi might be enlisted in this work, in which case the whole of his diocese would soon follow his example."

The above quotation will give my readers some idea of the nature of our proceedings at Mosul up to the middle of February, 1843. The roads to the Tyari country being impassable at this season, I had given up all intention for the present of visiting Mar Shimoon, especially as I deemed it the more prudent course to await the result of Mohammed Pasha's charges against the American missionaries at Asheetha, which represented them as Englishmen who were building a castle in the mountains, and bribing the Nestorians to throw off their allegiance to the Sultan. But on hearing that the Patriarch was at this time in lower Tyari, and that no political disturbances were likely to occur in central Coordistan during the winter, I determined to

start forthwith, and accordingly made the necessary preparations for my journey with as much secresy as possible. Mohammed Pasha, who from the beginning had shown himself well-disposed towards us, readily provided me with a passport; and at Mr. Rassam's suggestion I procured the following articles to carry in my hand as a present to Mar Shimoon: viz. two pair of red boots, one canister of snuff, 20 lbs. of soap, 20 lbs. of coffee, 20 lbs. of incense, two large scarlet cloaks, several muslin kerchiefs, a quantity of ginger, 50 pipe-bowls, 50 flints, paper, pencils, a telescope, and other small articles. Mrs. Badger also made up a parcel of needles, pins, cottons, tapes, &c. for the Patriarch's favourite sister, and other female relatives of his family.

Feb. 20th, 1843.—Having previously engaged Daood who accompanied Messrs. Ainsworth and Rassam into Coordistan in the summer of 1840, and whose services I found very useful as guide and interpreter among the Coords, we crossed the Tigris in a ferry with our three mules, and at 9 A.M. began our journey from the opposite side. The snows which cover the mountains in the more direct road to Amedia at this season of the year obliged us to take a more circuitous route which lengthened the distance about twenty miles. At 1 P.M. we passed the Chaldean village of Telkèf containing a population of 400 families, who are engaged principally in agricultural pursuits. There are now but two churches* in the village, one of which though small contains no less than four confessionals, and the walls are covered with clumsy pictures of saints dressed in the most gaudy apparel. Two priests and two monks from Rabban Hormuzd minister to the spiritual necessities of the people, who are strongly attached to all the superstitions of the church of Rome.

Passing Telkèf on our left we reached Batnaia at 2 P.M. This village also is entirely inhabited by Chaldeans, who have here a church and two priests. Two hours beyond brought us to Tell Iskof where we put up for the night, and where we found Mutran Elîa, the nephew of the late patriarch Mutran Hanna, with whom I had already become acquainted, and whose history has been given in a former chapter.

* Rich mentions six other churches at Telkèf; but the ruins of these are scarcely visible at the present day.

Feb. 21*st.*—Left Tell Iskof at 7 A.M. and after crossing the remainder of the plain entered a district of low hills covered with grass, through which a clear stream meandered in its course towards the Tigris. At 11 A.M. we reached Bahendawayah, a small village inhabited by Coords and Yezeedees, and situated in a pass leading through the mountain range of Rabban Hormuzd. During the day we met a party of fifteen Jews on their way to Mosul, whither they were going to petition the Pasha against the exactions of the *Mutsellim* of Amedia. The poor people seemed driven to desperation, and replied in answer to my question whether they were not afraid of the governor's vengeance: "He can do no more than take away our lives, and death will deliver us from the sufferings which we are now made to endure."

Towards the evening we met Kasha Mendu, the Nestorian priest of Amedia, who was on his way to Mosul in consequence of an invitation which I had sent him a month previously, in order to make arrangements with him for opening schools among the Nestorians in the valley of the Supna. He gladly joined our party, and I found his services very useful throughout the journey. At half-past 5 P.M. we reached the Coordish village of Emumké, where we put up for the night.

Feb. 22*nd.*—We started this morning at 7 A.M. and at 2 P.M. came in sight of the extensive plain of the Supna, bounded on the north by the lofty Tcah Meteenah, and on the south by the Tcah Gara range, both now almost covered with snow. There are many Christian villages still remaining in the Supna, but a great number have been deserted within the last few years. Half a century ago all these villages were inhabited by Nestorians, but the greater part of those which remain have within that time joined the Chaldean community, and are at present under the jurisdiction of Mutran Yoosef of Alkôsh, who is sometimes styled Bishop of Amedia. At 6 P.M. we reached the Coordish village of Badi Resh, where we put up for the night.

Feb. 23*rd.*—Started from Badi Resh at 7 A.M. and followed the course of a pretty stream for some distance, when we left it to its winding under Jebel Gara in its journey towards the Zab. Ainsworth calls this stream "Gara," but its real name is Ava Supna, or the Supna water; it rises a little to the west of

Daoodîa, and in its course through the plain receives many additional rivulets flowing from the Gara and Teah Meteenah ranges. To the east of Amedia it is joined by the Robâra, which in winter and spring so swells the Ava Supna as to render it impassable for days together. From Ainsworth's description one would conclude that this river runs close under Amedia, which is a mistake, and Dr. Grant falls into a still greater error when he calls it the "Khazir."

The Teah Meteenah eastward of Amedia makes a curve to the south, which renders the valley thereabouts much narrower than it is to the west of that town, where its average width is from six to eight miles. The valley itself is very uneven, but is fertile in vineyards and valonîa oak producing the gall-nut of commerce. The grapes of this district are very large, and when dried make excellent raisins. Very little wheat or barley is raised here; but rice is grown in abundance about Amedia, and in the valleys of Berwari beyond.

We were three hours in reaching Bebâdi, situated at the foot of Amedia. This village, which until very lately was inhabited by Nestorians, is now in ruins, but the church is still in good repair. The town of Amedia is built upon an isolated rock close under the Teah Meteenah range, from which it is divided by a deep ravine. The ascent from all sides is steep and rugged, and it took us more than half an hour to reach the summit. A perpendicular scarp, varying from thirty to forty feet high, rises above the sloping sides of the hill, and forms a natural rampart round the whole circumference of the platform upon which the town is built. The town itself, which occupies the northern extremity of the area, is little better than a heap of ruins, and the rest is chiefly occupied by graves (no "sacred groves," as Ainsworth writes), and a square castle built by the Coordish Pasha of Rawandooz, when he took possession of the place in 1832. This fortress is now garrisoned by 300 irregular troops.

On reaching the town, we were conducted by Kasha Mendu to his house, almost the only respectable private dwelling in the place, where we were welcomed by three of his brothers, one of whom had lately seceded to Rome, because Mutran Yoosef, the Chaldean Bishop, had given him permission to take a wife

within the degrees prohibited by the Nestorian canons. From several reports which had reached me, I had been led to imagine that the Nestorians in this district were far more numerous than they really are. The cause of this decrease is to be referred, not only to the secession of many of their numbers to Romanism, but also to the severe oppression to which all classes of the people have been and are still subjected from their tyrannical rulers. Kasha Mendu informed me, that six years ago there were no less than fourteen flourishing villages of Nestorians in the valley of the Supna, the greater portion of which are now desolate, without an inhabitant. The whole Nestorian population of this district does not now exceed 100 families, besides a few villages which still remain steadfast to their ancient faith to the west of Daoodia, in the Mezuriyeh, and in the country bordering upon the Great Zab river. But what else can be expected, left as these poor people are without episcopal superintendence? Mar Shimoon has had too many troubles to contend with in Coordistan to attend to that district, which has always been considered within the jurisdiction of Mar Elîa, the Nestorian Patriarch of the plains. Amedia was left without a Bishop for years before it was filled by Mutran Elîa, as has been recorded in a former chapter; and since his return to the Chaldean Church, no successor has been appointed to fill his place. In consequence of this neglect, all the Nestorians of the Supna, and of the entire district south of the Tcah Meteenah, are left without a head, and Mar Yeshua-yau, of Doori, who used occasionally to ordain priests for these parts, is getting too infirm, and the Papal party too strong for him to attempt to do any thing towards benefiting the Nestorians beyond the limits of his own diocese in the Berwari.

During the day I visited the little oratory of the Nestorians not far from Kasha Mendu's dwelling. It is a small room in a private house, the Christians never having as yet been permitted to build a church within the town of Amedia. The room was dark and dirty, and every thing which it contained bespoke the poverty and wretchedness of the few remaining Nestorians of the place. One third of the apartment was partitioned off by a ragged curtain, and formed the bema; a

square unhewn stone in the centre of the remaining space served as a reading desk, on which was placed a large and beautifully written lectionary, while several other church books were piled one upon another on the damp floor. I next visited the small Armenian chapel close by: it was certainly superior to that of the Nestorians, but still very miserable. There are now only two Armenian families at Amedia, and until lately a priest was stationed here by the Bishop of Van to attend to their spiritual wants; but he has since been recalled. The Nestorians in the town number twenty-two families, and the Chaldeans ten souls. Once a year Mutran Yoosef pays them a visit, when he celebrates mass in the house of Kasha Mendu's brother, one of his proselytes. The priest showed me the cope and other ecclesiastical robes, which the bishop uses on these occasions: they were made of no better material than bright cotton print bordered with tinsel; yet the simple people here regard them as very fine, and argue therefrom the opulence and dignity of the wearer. They were indeed sumptuous when compared with the ragged vestments of poor Kasha Mendu, who was loath to offer them to my inspection. He then showed me the brass chalice and paten used at the celebration of the Holy Communion, and the two candlesticks of the same metal, which are placed upon the altar during that service. The sight of these sacred utensils filled me with mingled emotions: their very existence and continued use was a triumph of the cross over the persecutions which its followers here have endured for ages from the infidel Moslems, while their meanness and baseness bespoke too plainly the abject condition of these unfortunate Christians.

Kasha Mendu then showed me a collection of MSS. which he had saved from the wreck of the Nestorian villages in the valley of the Supna. They amounted in all to about 150 volumes, some of which were very old, and many well written. I succeeded in purchasing nine of these for the Christian Knowledge Society, and was anxious to obtain from him a complete set of the entire Nestorian ritual; but the priest pointed out to me the curse invoked at the end of the remaining books upon all who should buy or sell them for gain, or who were in any way instrumental in alienating them from

the churches to which they belonged. Among the MSS. which I secured, was a small folio lectionary, written about 600 years ago, in a large and beautiful hand. I notice this volume particularly, for the following reason: Mr. Layard tells us that Kasha Mendu had seen the word "Ecbatana," or "Ekbadan," recorded as the ancient name of Amedia in a MS. which was once in his possession. When I revisited that town in 1850, I begged the priest to show me the MS. to which he had referred in his conversation with Mr. Layard; that is, in order not to put a leading question, I requested him to show me the book in which he had read the ancient name of Amedia. He replied at once: "I sold the book to you seven years ago;" and on further inquiry, I discovered that he meant the Lectionary. Turning to the notes of my first visit, I found that I had extracted from a record at the end of this volume the following: "This book was written at *Kalaat Bibáka*, which is Amedia." Kasha Mendu instantly recognized the name, and notwithstanding many after inquiries, he persisted in declaring that he neither knew nor had ever heard the word "Ekbadan." I conclude, therefore, that the author of "Nineveh and its Remains" must have misunderstood the priest. The Lectionary I presume to be at present in the library of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

In the evening, nearly all the Nestorians of the town came to visit me at the house of Kasha Mendu, and with them a number of Jews. The greatest cordiality appeared to exist between these two people, brought about by the frequent and long-continued oppression which they have shared in common. They related to me many heart-rending tales of their past sufferings, and told me what they still had to endure at the hands of their despotic rulers. Such has been the withering influence of Mohammedan despotism in this once flourishing district, that Amedia, which a few years ago contained as many as 2,000 families, does not at present contain more than 300 in all. Many of the remaining Christians and Jews would gladly leave it and seek refuge in the Tyari; but an order has been issued by the Pasha, forbidding any person to leave the town to seek a residence elsewhere. Here, then, these poor creatures are obliged to remain ground down to the dust by oppression,

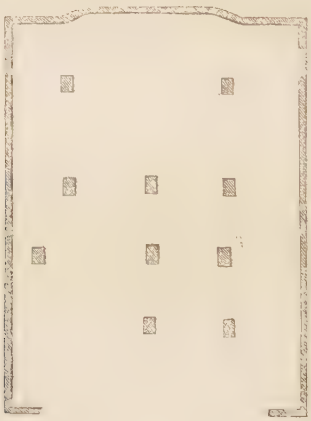
with scarcely any means of obtaining a livelihood; their dwellings more fit to harbour wild animals than human beings, and without any other prospect of deliverance nearer than the grave.

Feast of S. Matthias.—The weather being unsettled this morning we decided to defer our departure till the morrow, by which arrangement I had some further opportunities of examining what was worthy of notice in the town and of acquiring additional information respecting the surrounding districts. During the day I visited the chief synagogue of the Jews, situated in a quarter of the town allotted to this people. It is a large apartment enclosed within a spacious court, round which on the inside runs a wide portico. Every thing in the interior of the building looked wretched beyond description: the walls were broken through in several places, and the floor was covered with filth and rubbish. This also is the work of the infidels: the poor Jews have ceased to meet together for public worship on account of the insults to which they are subjected, and because their synagogue has been so frequently rifled and desecrated by the Mohammedans. There were about twenty rolls of the law in wooden cases put up in different parts of the room, some well written, and all of white sheep skin, and of a modern date. I inquired whether they did not possess any ancient MSS., but was answered in the negative. Ten years ago there were as many as 500 Jewish families in this town, now there are not more than fifty.

Sindôr, a large village to the left of the road on our way to Amedia, is entirely inhabited by Jews; from one source I learned that they numbered there no less than 300 families, while another informant assured me that it did not now contain more than fifty houses. At Badi, also, there are a few Jews, and in several villages in this district an Israelitish family or two may be found living among the Coords. They all speak the same language as the Nestorians and Chaldeans of these parts, viz., the *Fellehi*, or vulgar Syriac, nor could I perceive or learn that there was any difference in the dialect of the two people. The Jews hereabouts are very poor and ignorant; only a few among them can read Talmudic, and fewer still know any thing of the biblical Hebrew. On inquiring whether they had any tradition

as to what tribe they belonged to, they replied in the negative; several of the Jews at Mosul profess to be descendants of the tribe of Levi. There is another smaller synagogue and a "house of prayer" belonging to the Jews at Amedia besides that already described, but these I did not visit.

We next went to inspect what Ainsworth describes as the remains of a "Persian temple," situated about the centre of the area upon which the town is built. To my great disappointment I could discover no vestiges there of "sepulchral caves or truncated obelisks," but a mere oblong ditch or trench, measuring eighty feet by forty-six, cut out of the solid rock, in which ten rough and misshapen masses of the parent stone were left as if to serve for the basements of as many pillars. This ditch, which is from six to eight feet high, lies in a deep hollow, and I have no doubt was intended for a cistern, of which there are many more of much smaller dimensions about the town. The following exact plan of the excavation will show at once that it never could have been designed for a temple; its low position, as well as the irregularity of its internal construction, are both at variance with any such notion.



From the cistern we walked through the remains of an old bazaar and a heap of ruined houses, now the receptacle of noisome filth and ordure, to the eastern gate called Bâb-ooz-Zeibâr, from its being the entrance into the fortress from the district of that name. Here we saw a number of natives engaged in repairing

the walls which had been thrown down by the guns of Mohammed Pasha's army during the late siege. Scarcely a day passes but twenty or thirty Christians, Jews, and Moslems, are seized by order of the governor and forced to work on the fortifications and other buildings, for which they never receive the least remuneration. One poor Jew, who was preparing flax for the loom not far from the house in which I lodged, was driven by a soldier to do service at the *serai* without being allowed time to secure his property. A Nestorian entered the town with our party, carrying a heavy load on his back. On making inquiry I learned that he had been sent to Azekh, beyond Jezeerah, a distance of four days' journey, to purchase tobacco for the *Mutsellim*. This individual visited me at Kasha Mendu's house in the evening, and on my asking him what sum he had received for his trouble, he replied: "Thanks be to God that I executed my errand so as to please the governor; as to payment, I never expected it." Here was a poor man obliged to travel for eight days, maintain himself and his family during that time, and wear out his clothes, without receiving the least compensation. While at Amedia I sent a Christian into the valley below the town to gather wild plants. While thus engaged a soldier accosted him, who had just felled the trunk of a large tree. Pointing to the log he said: "Come, friend, you must carry this up to the governor." "I cannot," replied the Christian, "I am on business." "If you don't, you knave, I will break your head," retorted the other. This threat he would most probably have put into execution, but on hearing that the Christian was engaged for a Baliôs (the name generally given to all Frank travellers in these parts), he left his prey to go in search of some other unfortunate Jew or Christian.

These are a few specimens of the system of tyranny and oppression which is carried on in the distant provinces of the Turkish empire, and which is fast bringing it to ruin. But this is not all; the people here and in the villages around have demands made upon them for money as often as the cupidity of the *Mutsellim* or Pasha (for it is difficult to know certainly from which of these the orders emanate) dictates, and if the sums are not forthcoming, stripes and confiscation of their property are sure to follow. So again with regard to the produce of the soil:

an official is sent by the Pasha or Mutsellim to settle the tithe which *he judges* the land cultivated by each individual will yield. This he never fails to exaggerate, and fixes the excise accordingly. In the next place he tells the peasants that the pasha wants money instead of produce, which he then proceeds to value sometimes at thrice the value which the poor people can obtain for it in the market. Thus for a *mann* of raisins, which sells for one piastre and a half, he exacts five piastres; for a *mann* of tobacco, which is sold for ten, he exacts twenty-two and a half piastres; and so with rice, cotton, sesame, and other productions of the soil.

The following is another bright specimen of Turkish injustice. Mohammed Pasha sometimes receives presents from the Arab tribes, and more frequently plunders them, of large flocks of sheep and other cattle; if not in want of the sheep he sends them out under a military escort to the districts around Mosul, and fixes the number which each village must buy at his own valuation. It frequently happens that several die on the road, and more are slaughtered by the guards for their own private use while on the road; of these they are careful to preserve the ears, which they string together on a cord and carry with them. On arriving at a village they make over to the *kiahya*, say, eighteen sheep, and demand payment for twenty. If any demur is made by the unfortunate peasants, two pairs of ears are produced by the soldiers as an equivalent for the deficiency. The *kiahya* is held responsible for the amount, and proceeds to deal out the sheep to the villagers, who dare not refuse to purchase them.

What government can stand under such a system as this? The case with many of the larger towns in the interior of Asiatic Turkey is wretched enough, but it is in the distant provinces and villages, far removed from the eye of European influence and criticism (which nevertheless are the chief support of the empire), that such tyranny and oppression are in full vigour.

Part of this day was taken up with the necessary preparations for our departure. The presents which I had brought for the patriarch and what little baggage I had with me were packed up in four separate bundles, weighing about forty pounds each, so

as to render them more convenient for the Nestorian porters, who were to bear them after me through the snow into the Tyari country, as the roads were still impassable for beasts of burden. Each of the party provided himself with a pair of woollen sandals, called *zergool* by the Nestorians, and a hooked stick, which I afterwards found of great service in crossing the snows, and in ascending and descending the rugged precipices of the remarkable country upon which we were about to enter.

CHAPTER XIV.

Departure from Amedia.—The Mezurka Pass and Fool's Stone.—Nestorians in the Berwari.—Pass the frontier of the Tyari.—Dangerous descent to Asheetha. Produce and trade of the Tyari country.—Costume of the mountain Nestorians.—Mechanics.—Houses.—Physiognomy.—Names.—Language.—Ignorance and decay of learning among the Nestorians.—Their moral character.—What the Nestorians call themselves.

Thus equipped, on the morning of *Feb. 25th* we issued forth from the eastern gate of Amedia, and descended into the valley on the north of the fortress called Robâra, or the Meadow, covered with orchards, and dotted over with small country houses now in ruins. From this pretty vale we wound round the base of the Tcah Meteenah by a tortuous and narrow foot-path until we got fully into the Geli Mezurka, so called from a Coordish village of that name situated higher up in the pass. A copious mountain torrent, supplied by the melting snows above, toppled through the deep gorge, forming in its rapid course many a miniature waterfall, by the sides of which grew festoons of wild flowers in rich abundance. The remains of a pavement are still visible throughout the pass, but even with this assistance we found the ascent difficult and toilsome. In somewhat less than two hours we reached the Seri Keri, a large sugar-loaf mountain in the opening of the Geli, and a little to the right a gigantic cliff called Latikâtha d'Khalâva, forming an immense wall round a level space which in by-gone days served as a summer retreat for the people of Amedia. These elevated spots are called "Zozân" by the Nestorians and Coords, and "Yaila" by the Turks. The Syriac word Zoma is not equivalent to Zozân, as Dr. Grant would have it; but means a temporary hut or tent put up in the Zozâns. The

proper Syriac word for these summer retreats, which are common throughout central Coordistan, is Kuprâna.

A little beyond, and rising beside the narrow road which leads over the summits of the mountains, is an isolated rock which Ainsworth calls "Peri Balgah-si (the Honey place of the Fairies,)" whereupon he adds: "a belief in such things extending even to Coordistan." The real name, however, is Beri Balal Deena, or The Stone of Balal the Fool, connected with which is a common tradition not unworthy of being recorded. It is related of Emeer Mehdi the Coordish ruler of Hakkari some centuries ago, that in one of his warlike expeditions he laid siege to Amedia, and took possession of many villages in the surrounding district; the fortress, however, bravely resisted all his efforts to reduce it. Having taken an oath that he would not return home before he had become master of the place, he is said to have encamped seven years in the valley of the Supna, and to have planted vineyards and eaten the fruit of the same during the campaign. Finding that at the end of this time he was no nearer the accomplishment of his purpose, he made a solemn promise to the governor of Amedia that if he would only allow him and his suite to pass through the town he would instantly raise the siege, restore to him what he had conquered, and leave the country in peace. The condition having been accepted, Emeer Mehdi is said to have entered Amedia by the western gate, and in his progress through the bazaar one of his attendants seized upon an article of some value, which so enraged him that he ordered the offender to be killed on the spot. He then passed through the eastern gate, and after ascending Geli Mezurka, stopped at this isolated rock to refresh himself. Before proceeding on his journey he took off his cloak and fastened it to the rock, saying in Coordish:

Beri Balal Deena!
Kooblé ta hersé deena,
Tehoobé Shamboé oo Bahdeena.

Which translated literally runs thus:

O Stone of Balal the ~~Fool~~!
The *Kooblah* of the three creeds,
Thou art the limit of Shamboé and Bahdinân.

In these lines the disappointed Emeer ridicules his fruitless efforts during a seven years' campaign by calling himself a "fool," under the name of Balal, a famous jester among the Coords, and then magnifies his own power by claiming to be the *Kooblah* of the three principal religions, i.e. Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan. The *Kooblah*, or South, is the quarter to which the Moslems turn when praying, and is apparently used here to signify the centre or head. Shamboé is the Coordish name for Hakkari; and tradition relates that for a long time this stone actually formed the boundary between that country and the province of Bahdinân.

Three years after Emeer Mehdi had returned to the seat of his government, a wandering minstrel was sent from Amedia to obtain from him the removal of the cloak. He so far succeeded in pleasing the Emeer by his musical powers, that the latter promised to grant him any favour that he might ask. The minstrel begged for the cloak, and he was told to go and take possession of it.

Emeer Mehdi appears to have been a renowned chieftain in his day, if we may believe all the stories which are told of him by the natives. The large castle near the Jewish village of Beit-Tannoori, not far from Doori, the ruins of which are still extant, is said to have been destroyed by him when he laid siege to Amedia.

Hitherto we had met with little snow in the direct road, but now the face of the country was entirely covered with it. The five Coordish soldiers who had been sent with us for our protection made the poor Nestorians walk on before in order that by their superior weight, laden as they were with their packs, they might render the way less difficult for those in the rear. In some places the snow was more than twelve feet deep, and notwithstanding every precaution several of our party were repeatedly buried up to the waist. After stumbling on in this fashion for about an hour we had a fine view of the Berwari district before us, and of the Tyari in the distance. To our left stretched a pretty valley as far as the eye could reach, through which ran one of the tributaries of the Khaboor, and to our right flowed several streams which after joining the Bedu rivulet flow into the Great Zab about ten miles farther south. From the

eminence on which we stood we could also see Kalaat Koomri, the residence of the Emeer of Berwari, while directly at our feet was the small Nestorian village of Hayyis.

Berwari is inhabited by Coords and Nestorians, the latter occupy fifteen villages containing about 200 families, with ten churches and as many priests, under the episcopal jurisdiction of Mar Yeshua-yau (whom Ainsworth incorrectly calls "Ishiyah.") The Romanists have not as yet penetrated thus far, nevertheless the Nestorian population in this district, like that of the Supna, is fast decreasing, owing to the tyranny of the Coords and the cruelties practised upon them by Abd-ool-Samid Beg the Emeer. Some additional remarks on the state of the Christians in Berwari will be found in the narrative of my second visit to these parts made in the spring of 1850.

After crossing the Gabet Nerk, which bounds the valley beyond Hayyis, we descended into a pretty meadow called Suaret Shukoorli, to the north of which rose another high hill which we traversed before reaching the two small Nestorian villages called Mâya and Derishk. Mâya lay in our way, and gladly would we have put up there for the night, but our guards bade us trudge onwards. Yielding to their prejudices we continued our journey by the side of a stream lined with poplars, and in one hour reached the large Coordish village of Bedu, situated at the extremity of a high and craggy range of hills and commanded by several forts. Bedu is the nearest village to the Tyari, and forms the limit of Mohammed Pasha's jurisdiction in this direction. It was some time before we could be accommodated with lodgings; but in the course of an hour a barn was cleared out for us, when one and all of the party gathered round a smoky fire to warm ourselves and dry our clothes which were wet through with the snow that had fallen during the day. In the course of the evening, and after they had been refreshed with a hearty supper, the guards began to sing for my amusement and their own. The subject was one of pastoral love and romantic chivalry, and the tones of the performers though wild were extremely sweet and pathetic. The song was kept up by two only, but the whole company joined in the chorus. Ever and anon my thoughts would wander to the Christians who dwelt among the fastnesses of the everlasting hills before me

which seemed to bid defiance to the infidel invader; and in thinking of the message of peace and love which I was commissioned to carry to these long-neglected followers of CHRIST, I forgot, in hopeful musing upon the future, the toil of ten hours' walk through fields of snow and over rugged and precipitous mountains. Before the jovial guards had ceased their melody I was locked in a sound sleep from which I did not wake till the grey morn warned us that it was time to pursue our onward journey.

Feb. 26th.—We left Bedu at 7 A.M. with the wind blowing very cold, and the heavens threatening a storm. Our course lay first through a valley, on which the snow lay several feet deep, and in two hours reached the foot of an almost perpendicular ascent called Pyâri, covered with snow from its base to the summit. Here our toil began: after every few steps we were obliged to rest, taking the greatest care lest by some mishap we should lose our balance and thus be precipitated into the ravine below. When we reached the top, which it took us upwards of an hour to accomplish, we found ourselves as it were in a sea of snow: not a speck of earth nor the branch of a tree was to be seen, with the exception of a pile of stones raised upon an elevated spot to mark the direction of the road. Mountains upon mountains rose before and around us, and I could scarcely realize the fact that I was travelling to a habitable part of the world.—Such are the ramparts which have for ages secured the Nestorians of Tyari from the Moslem bondage and Roman domination, to which their brethren of the plains have so long been subjected; but which, alas! have now been crossed by the armies of the infidels who will rule them with a rod of iron.

After travelling for an hour and a half over this elevated table-land we reached the edge of the descent which leads directly to Asheetha. An immense peak, the base of which stretched down into the valley in which the village is situated to the depth of several thousand feet, and towered above our heads almost to an equal height, seemed to mock every attempt to traverse its snow-clad sides. It made one giddy barely to look down the precipice before us; but how we were to descend this awful cliff was still a problem which I could not solve. A narrow way

formed in the deep coating of snow which covered the mountain, and so hardened by use that it seemed like a bed of ice, wound through the space between the bottom of the valley and the spot to which we had attained. Here the porters took off their burdens, tied them with a strong rope, and spread a felt upon the slippery road. Sitting down upon this with the rope held tightly in both hands, their knees bent, and their feet pressing upon the loads, it needed no impulse to set them a-going. No sooner had each seated himself than he slid down at a fearful rate, acquiring additional speed the farther he descended, and seeming ever and anon, as he was hurried down the zig-zag course, as if he would shoot out of the beaten track and be hurled into the deep ravines which bounded it on either side. The safe landing of my companions at the bottom of the valley hardly gave me confidence, and it was not without some secret misgivings that I sat me down to follow their example. Through some neglect I was not provided with a felt, and being unencumbered with baggage, my first essay had nearly proved fatal. Hardly had I seated myself than I slid off the pathway, and should inevitably have been buried in the ravine, had not one of the Coordish guards, who, at the time, was lying down in the snow, caught my foot and broken my fall. The second trial was more fortunate, but my readers may rest assured that I felt no little pleasure when I found myself walking on my feet not far from the village, although my hands were quite numb with the fruitless attempts which I had made to arrest my progress by grasping the loose snow. Such was our descent of the Râs Kadôma, and I sincerely advise any of my countrymen who may wish to visit the Tyari to choose a different season for the excursion.

On looking around I perceived that the valley threw off several lateral branches, on the sides of which the little town of Asheetha is built. The snow had been partially cleared off the ground, and flocks of sheep and a number of small black oxen were feeding upon thorns and dried shrubs which at this season are brought from the Berwari. Passing a stream over a rude bridge of planks we directed our steps to the *Kalleita*, or public room, where we were received and welcomed by Shammâsha (Deacon) Ishâk, Mar Shimoon's youngest brother, Kash'

Aurâha the archdeacon, and a number of other Nestorians, who were seated round a comfortable fire holding a village conference. A carpet and quilt were spread for me in a corner of the room, and in the novel and interesting scene before me I soon forgot the danger of our morning's slide.

As our party were too much fatigued to think of starting on the morrow, it was decided that a messenger should be sent to invite the Patriarch to hasten his visit to Asheetha. This determination was come to in the evening by the villagers, and next day a priest set off for Chamba, eight hours farther north, where Mar Shimoon had taken up his temporary residence. In the meanwhile, and during the succeeding three days of our stay, I had a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with the social and political condition of the Nestorians of Tyari, the sum of which I shall now endeavour to lay before my readers, together with such experience of their character and customs as I acquired from the unfortunate refugees and captives who some months later found a home with me at Mosul.

The village of Asheetha takes its name, according to Dr. Grant, from the Syriac word *Asheetha*, an avalanche; but this is the more vulgar derivation. Kash' Aurâha informed me that in their books it is always written *Shathista*, a foundation, it being considered the first and largest village of Tyari, and the key of the province. Asheetha itself is divided into five quarters, called severally: Tcemmané, Tcemmané Tahteitha, Mâtha d'Umra-Khateebet, Isroor, and Merweeta, and contains a population of about 2500 souls. The people are in general robust and well-made, and till the ungenerous soil of their native hills with unwearying industry. The chief produce of the district is *Prâghi*, called by the Coords *Gârez*, *Talik*, and *Khruria* or *Dhoorra*, three kinds of millet or pannick, which, when ground, make the bread-flour in general use throughout this part of Coordistan. Very little wheat is raised throughout the Tyari or the Hakkari provinces; but rice is much more abundant. Scarcely any vegetables are grown at Asheetha; but cucumbers, melons, and beans, are common about Leezan and Minyânish. The walnut, pomegranate, and apricot, grow almost spontaneously in the valleys, and the mountain sides are covered with vineyards producing the most luscious grapes, from which the

Nestorians extract a generous wine, and a thick juice resembling honey, and which when dried make excellent raisins. Wood is scarce about Asheetha, but further north the hills are covered with dwarf oak and other trees, and the valleys are lined with poplars. The chief employment of the people, beside the cultivation of the soil, is the care of their flocks, from which they derive their main support. Their butter they barter with the people of Berwari, and not unfrequently travelling merchants go from Mosul to purchase this commodity from them, and also honey which they have in abundance. In some parts of the Tyari large quantities of the gall-nut are gathered every year, and this also forms an important article of the mountain trade.

The Tyari produces neither flax nor cotton; these the villagers generally import from Julamerk or Amedia in exchange for their home-raised commodities. The wool of their sheep, however, affords employment to the females who work it into stuffs of different colours, figured socks, &c.; yet this does not prevent large quantities of a crimson and grey-striped woollen cloth, of which the dress of the mountaineers is chiefly made, from being imported from Garamoon, a Nestorian village to the west of Asheetha.

The male costume of the Nestorians consists of a wide pair of *shalwar*, or trowsers, bound round the waist by a running string, or fastened with a girdle, which also secures the end of a vest. Under these is a white cotton shirt, and above a coarse woollen coat, striped with white and black, and reaching to the loins. A conical felt cap, resembling in shape that worn by the Chinese, forms the common head-dress. Priests, however, and the more respectable laymen among them, wear a round cap of the same material, which is secured to the head by a small turban. All the men keep their hair close shaven, with the exception of two long locks on the crown, which are plaited with no little care, and in some cases suffered to hang down the back. The costume of the females is not unlike that which has already been described as worn by other eastern ladies, except in this, that they always go unveiled, and their head-dress consists of a simple muslin kerchief, thrown over the hair, and tied behind the neck.

Mechanics are in a very backward state among the mountain Nestorians: their carpentry is of the most clumsy description,

and is almost confined to the fabrication of agricultural implements, which each peasant generally manufactures for himself. Of iron they have abundance in several parts of Tyari; this they smelt and beat out into rude plough-shares and such other tools as they require for tillage. The people of Ashectha, however, are famed for tempering steel, and the best packing needles used by the Coordish muleteers, are made in this village. There are several mines of lead at Doori, in the Berwari, and at Serspeedho, in lower Tyari, as also sulphur mines in other parts of the mountains, from which the Nestorians prepare their own bullets and gunpowder. Silversmiths they have none, and in fine, scarcely any other trades than those already mentioned are known among them. For the most part, each man is his own farmer's joiner and blacksmith, and his wife, besides attending to the domestic concerns of the family, acts as his help-mate in these several avocations.

NESTORIAN HOUSE IN THE TYARI.

The style of building at Asheetha and throughout the Tyari country is very simple, each dwelling generally consisting of a long room serving the inmates for all the purposes for which we require several distinct apartments, and a part of this is in many cases partitioned off as a pen or fold for the sheep, and other cattle. Some few houses have a second story, the lower one being partly under ground, which serves as a warm retreat during the severity of winter. The roofs are all flat, which obliges the residents after a heavy fall of snow to lose no time in removing it. On account of the gnats and mosquitoes which nightly swarm in these regions during the summer, the villagers for the most part retire from their houses and sleep on scaffolds called *arzâlé*, consisting of a platform supported by four upright poles, and raised from sixteen to twenty feet above the ground. The climate of Tyari is salubrious, although the cold of winter and the heat of summer, especially in the valleys, are excessive. Intermittent fevers are common in these districts, but the people in general attain a good old age.

Dr. Grant has very strongly insisted on the Jewish physiognomy of the Nestorians of central Coordistan. From this opinion I must beg to differ: at Amedia I had frequent opportunities of seeing the two people face to face, and the difference in their features and general complexion appeared to me as great as exists between the descendants of Israel and any of the European races. The heads of the Nestorians are round, in which respect they resemble the Saxon family, whereas the Jews, even in these districts, preserve the high crown and the receding forepart, which distinguish them in every part of the globe. Then, again, light hair and hazel eyes are colours more common than any other among the Nestorians, whilst such are comparatively rare among the Jews, who have black hair and dark eyes wherever I have met with them. A striking difference, moreover, exists in the complexion of the two races, that of the mountain Nestorians being usually a ruddy brown, and that of the Jews, a pale brunette on a smoother skin.

The same author adduces it as a corroborative evidence of the Jewish origin of the Nestorians, that Old Testament names are of constant occurrence among them. I requested Kash' Aurâha, while I was at Asheetha, to write me down promiscu-

ously all the Nestorian names that he could remember. In a list of eighty which he drew up, I find only ten Old and twelve New Testament names applied to males, the rest being of a later date, and many common to the Coords as well as to the Nestorians of this region; and among an equal number of female names, there are not more than eight taken from Holy Scripture. Now this ratio of biblical appellatives is to be met with among all the Mohammedans and Christians of Turkey, and I have no doubt is exceeded in some of the northern parts of the United States. The Doctor's own Christian name was Asahel, that of Dr. Smith and the Rev. Mr. Hinsdale, two other American missionaries at Mosul, Azariah and Abel, and that of Mr. Hinsdale's son Abel Abdallah.

The language spoken by the Nestorians of the mountains is a corrupt Syriac, and varies considerably in different provinces. This dialect, which is generally called *Fellehi* in the plains and *Soorith* (Syriac) in Coordistan, is mixed up with many Arabic words in the villages around Mosul, with Coordish in the Tyari and Hakkari, and with Persian in and about Ooroomiah. The two former understand each other better than they do those of the latter district, and several of the clergy complained to me, when I visited the country in 1850, that the vulgar dialect of the New Testament lately published by the American missionaries at Ooroomia was more difficult for them to comprehend than the classical Syriac which is printed with it in a parallel column. The ancient Syriac is not understood by the lay mountaineers, and very few of the ecclesiastics, I regret to say, know more than simply how to read it. It is in this language, however, that all their rituals are written, from which it necessarily results, that the intellect at least can be but little profited by an attendance upon the services of the church. I have met with a religious treatise or two in the vulgar dialect, but these are held in no esteem, and are scarcely ever used. Epistolary communication is kept up by a few of the clergy who frequently mix up much that is vulgar with the classical Syriac. The same observations apply to the Chaldeans of Mosul, who only speak the Arabic, yet their services, with the exception of the Epistle and Gospel, which are now read in that language, are carried on in the ancient Syriac. The Chaldeans in the villages around

Mosul are in a like case with the mountain Nestorians, speaking the same dialect, or nearly so, and understanding scarcely anything of what is read in their churches.

The Nestorians of central Coordistan are, generally speaking, very simple and ignorant. Deploring this state of things among them, Kash' Aurâha said to me one day: "What can you expect? The poor people have scarcely ever seen anything but the heavens above, and the earth beneath them." The only books which they possess, are the church rituals, and I have not heard of a single author at present existing among them. To be able to read the service books, and write a tolerable hand is considered the very acme of education, and this is all that is required in candidates for holy orders. While at Asheetha I had an opportunity of seeing the Archdeacon give this kind of instruction to several youths, who were destined to become deacons. Five sat down round a psalter, placed upon a low stool, in such a way, that to two at least the book was upside down. The best reader led the way, and the rest followed his voice and finger as he pointed to the place where he was reading. The Archdeacon would occasionally stop and explain the meaning of a difficult passage or word which he supposed they could not understand; but this scarcely interrupted him in his copying or transcribing, in which occupation he spends most of his time. The same course is pursued in other villages, in none of which, however, is there so capable an instructor as Kash' Aurâha, and as schools are unknown among them, the reader may easily imagine how gross must be the ignorance of these neglected mountaineers.

I cannot better describe the moral condition of the Nestorians in central Coordistan, than by quoting the language of Mr. Ainsworth, whose remarks on this subject, prove that he had made a just estimate of their character: "It has been advanced by the most eminent traveller of the present age (De Humboldt), that certain climates, more especially Alpine districts, where but a brief interval of sunshine alternates with storms, and where the ruggedness of nature begets sternness and moroseness in mankind, are most favourable to the propagation of a religion of asceticism and monastic seclusion. But here, in the heart of Coordistan, where snow-clad rocks perpetually frown

down upon secluded vales,—where giant precipices seem almost to defy mankind to venture upon intercommunication,—where waters, instead of meandering through flowery meads, pour in resistless torrents over their stony beds,—where clouds unknown at certain seasons in the plains, almost perpetually obscure the fair face of the heavens, or dwell upon the mountain tops,—and where the universal aspect of nature is sterile, forbidding, and austere,—the benign influence of a kindly religion, and the simple forms of a primitive church, have preserved a people from self-sacrifices, unavailing to God and injurious to society. The Nestorian Church neither inculcates seclusion nor celibacy among its clergy; its only purification is fasting, so strongly enjoined on all Christians; and, in order that in this point their patriarchs, whose dignity is hereditary, may be without stain, they are not allowed to partake of flesh-meat either before or after their ordination.

"But if the influences of climate and soil, combined with the peculiarities of position with regard to neighbouring races of men, on the moral and intellectual development of the Nestorians, are modified in one direction by religion, it is much to be regretted that in another they have exercised full sway, allowing the passions too frequently to obtain the ascendant over morality and religion. The hardy mountaineer knows but a single step from the toils of travel or the chase to an expedition of war and extermination.*

"Thus the character of the Nestorian, besides perhaps retaining the impression of early persecution, has undoubtedly been affected by position, by the influences of nature, and by the vicinity of warlike and predatory tribes maintaining hostile creeds; but it is still more influenced by a very simple and easily reme-

* Mr. Ainsworth might have added: "and from the solemnity of divine worship to the wild sports of the mountains." It was related to me as a fact that as one of the priests, (many of whom carry arms and all possess them,) was about to open the service, he saw from a window of the church, which overhung a precipice, a wild boar drinking at a stream in the valley below. Laying aside his robes, he said to the congregation: "My brethren, this our sacrifice of praise will remain where it is, but that," pointing to the boar, "will soon run away." Then seizing his rifle he descended the rocks, and after securing the prey returned to the church, where the people had patiently waited for him, and all went through the prayers as if nothing uncommon had happened.

diable defect, namely, that with the forms and practice of worship they are not taught to understand the Gospel.

"In a country where none can read but the priests, it is most essential that attention should be given to the instruction of the people in the humanizing precepts so characteristic of and peculiar to Christianity. It is not the fault of the laity, for they are regular attendants at church, but of the priests solely; who partly chant and partly mumble through a liturgy of great beauty and excellence, and through the ennobling lessons of the New Testament, in so unintelligible a manner that no practical advantage can be derived therefrom. And it is to be remarked here that the old Syriac, in which the rituals and Testament are written, differs also much from the Syriac dialect at present used by the mountaineers. Certain prayers are familiar to all, but they have little moral effect. Many persons piously disposed retire to a corner of the church to pray in privacy, and I have often observed that such persons adhere also to the old oriental practice of frequent prostrations, a form not observed by the clergy; [the priests are directed to *stand* between the porch and the altar in the Nestorian rituals, as the ministers often do in our own church while the people kneel: within the sanctuary they often prostrate themselves:] but there is no plain distinct enunciation of the precepts and practice of our Saviour or of His Apostles. There is no sermon or lecture to expound difficulties of doctrine, to awaken reflection, or to sustain faith by convincing the intellect: thus the main body of Nestorians are only nominal Christians, and must remain so till assistance is sent to them from more favoured nations. Left to themselves and without education the people have deteriorated, and with the carelessness and ignorance of the laity have come laxity and superficiality among the clergy.

"It would be a great injustice, however, to these mountaineers, were I not to acknowledge that they are superior in intelligence and in moral worth to the inhabitants (Christians and Mohammedans) of the same classes in Anatolia, in Syria, and Mesopotamia. There are some forms of society, and many decencies of life belonging to improved civilization, that are omitted by the mountaineers; but there is no doubt that they are, as a race, more quick and impressible, more open, candid,

sincere, and courageous, than the inhabitants of the afore-mentioned countries. Their bearing is erect, but without the swagger of the Turk; their eye firm, but without ferocity; their forehead ample and high, unclouded by suspicion and evil feelings.

"But this slight superiority over neighbouring nations gives them no claim to be looked upon as a people enjoying all the real benefits of the Church to which they belong; their general demeanour and tone, their implacability towards their enemies, and many points in the daily conduct of life, are not only not consonant with, but are severely reprobated by the religion which they profess to follow. The origin of the demoralization and of the religious and intellectual prostration of this remarkable people, was beyond the control of man, and was primarily connected with those many revolutions with which it has pleased the ALMIGHTY to visit eastern nations; but the present existence and continuance of this state of things is evidently to be attributed to the want of communication with other nations, and to the neglect of education among the clergy as well as the people; and it is sincerely to be hoped that the same day that these facts shall be clearly felt and fully appreciated, will see commence the future regeneration and humanization of one of the most interesting and most remarkable, yet little known people, that are to be met with on the earth's surface." *

To the above it may be added that the Nestorians are frugal and even parsimonious in their habits, and generally honest in their dealings with one another. Robberies are almost unknown in the mountains, and domestic and drunken broils are far less frequent among them than in our own country. Would that I could bear so favourable a testimony to them in other respects, but the truth forbids it. The Nestorians, though simple, are cunning, over-reaching, and covetous, and will tell falsehood after falsehood with such barefacedness that I doubt whether they consider lying a sin. Conjugal unfaithfulness and kindred crimes were scarcely heard of among them when I first visited the Tyari; but after the massacre of 1843, since which time many hundreds of Nestorians, male and female, have been

* Ainsworth's "Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia," &c. vol. ii. 281—285.

brought into contact with the people of Mosul, a great change for the worse has taken place in this respect. The Turks, and I regret to say several Europeans whose character and office demanded far different conduct from them towards these unfortunate Christians, have been the principal agents in bringing about this deterioration of chastity. May GOD, in His mercy, avert the sad consequences of such wicked examples.

I shall conclude this chapter by making a few remarks on the names by which the Nestorians designate themselves, and in so doing shall take the liberty of correcting several statements on this subject made by Dr. Grant and later travellers. Dr. Grant in attempting to support his favourite hypothesis regarding the Hebrew descent of the Nestorians, writes: "The word Nazarean or Nsâra is specific in its application to the Nestorians, and is never applied to the Armenians or other Christian sects." The premises here laid down being fallacious, the author's conclusion necessarily falls to the ground; for, in the first place, Riddle* says that the Christians were styled "Nazarcans" by the Jews, and from them by the Gentiles also, and in proof of this he adduces the authority of Epiphanius, Jerome, and Prudentius. He also distinguishes these Nazareans from a Jewish sect of the same name which existed at the same time. Nasrâni, moreover, is the common title for "a Christian" throughout the East at the present day, and more especially in Mesopotamia, the term being less general in Syria. The same appellative is the only one used on the northern coast of Africa to denote a follower of CHRIST, and in Malta also, where it was doubtless carried by the Mohammedans who took possession of that island in the ninth century.

Further, on our way to Amedia, and just as we emerged from the Suaretooka pass overlooking the Supna, Kasha Mendu observed to me: "There are many villages of Nsâra in this plain." On asking whether he meant Christians of his church, he replied: "Some are Nsâra Meshihayé and others Nsâra Frangayé." In this answer the priest gave the distinctive appellative of the two sects into which the Nestorians are at present divided. The Nestorians frequently use the term Meshihayé (i.e. followers of the MESSIAH,) when speaking of themselves, but generally

* Christian Antiquities, p. 135. § 2.

add thereto the word "Nestorayá," when they wish to distinguish themselves from the Chaldeans who lay claim to the former title as their peculiar right, and never apply it to the Nestorians. These latter, on the other hand, seldom call the Chaldeans by any other name than that of "Frangayé," (Franks), the term "Catoleek" or Catholic, being scarcely ever heard among them. But even "Meshihayé" is an appellative less used by the Nestorians to denote those of their own sect, and Christians generally, than that of Soorayé (Syrians). Ask a Christian mountaineer what he is, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the reply will be: "I am a Soorayá." If asked to explain, he will most probably add "Meshihaya Nestoraya," or "Nestoraya" only.

From the above it will appear that these people are not so averse to being called "Nestorians" as some travellers have represented. There are indeed some among them who appear to prefer the latter title to that of "Meshihayé," probably because the Chaldeans so denominate themselves; in proof of which I shall adduce the case of a little Nestorian girl of Amedia who was under Mrs. Badger's care for several months. On her first arrival at Mosul a Chaldean asked her to what community she belonged. "I am a Nestoraya," was the reply. To which the other answered: "Why do you not rather call yourself a Meshihaya; for was not the Messiah greater than Nestorius?" "Very true," retorted the girl, "but even the gipsies who play upon the tambourine celebrate the praises of the Messiah, and cry out Isa! Isa! but they are not Christians on that account." In like manner in asking the Patriarch the proper application of these several terms, he replied: "We call all Christians Meshihayé, Christiané, Soorayé, and Nsâra; but we only are Nestorayé."

CHAPTER XV.

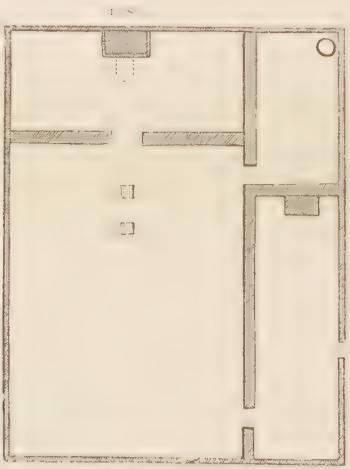
Churches at Asheetha and Leezan.—Nestorian Clergy, their incomes, and the veneration in which they are held.—Observance of Sunday and Friday.—Feast in commemoration of the dead.—Anthem used on such occasions.—Thank offerings.—Office for the purification of unclean water.—Design of that service.—Charms in use among the Nestorians.—Specimens of the same.

There is but one church at Asheetha, which is dedicated to Mar Gheorghees (S. George), a favourite saint among the Nestorians. The building is of stone, with a flat roof, and stands alone, in which respect the mountain churches differ from those of the plains, which for greater security against Mohammedan bigotry and oppression, are enclosed within an outer court. The church at Asheetha is small for the population of the place, being not more than fifty feet square, divided into two chapels, the inner one being used in winter, and the outer during summer. The sanctuary, or bema, occupies nearly one-third of the area, and is separated from the nave by a wall-screen, the opening through which is covered by a moveable curtain. The stone altar is fixed against the wall, and before it is a raised step where the priest stands during the celebration of the liturgy. In the chancel, which in the mountain churches is not generally marked off by a partition of any kind, stand two stone lecterns, one for the prayer-books, and the other for the New Testament lectionary. On the cover of the latter a metal cross is placed, which all devoutly kiss before and after divine service. The baptistery occupies a square apartment to the south of the sanctuary, and serves also for a vestry, where I saw the breeches, surplice, girdle, stole, chasuble, and shoes,* used by the Nestorian clergy in their ministrations.

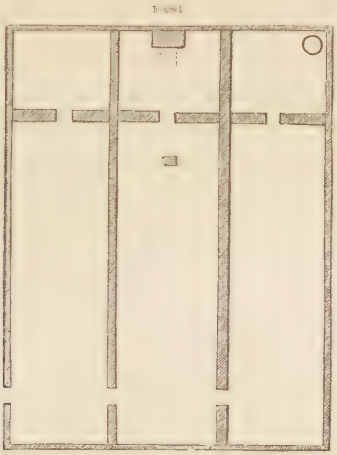
* Called severally in Syriac: *prazôna*, *peena*, *zunnâra*, *hurrâra*, *estla* or *shoshippa*, and *msâné*.

These vestments are all made of white calico or linen, and are of the plainest shape: the breeches are not unlike the common *shalwar* of the country; the surplice, like a shirt with short sleeves; and the chasuble, a plain square cloth with a cross inscribed on the centre, which is thrown over the head and shoulders, and the two parallel corners held between the thumb and forefinger of each hand. The girdle and stole consist of a narrow band or scarf with alternate white and blue crosses worked on squares of the same colours, the white crosses on the blue, and the blue on the white ground. The stole reaches only as far as the loins, where it is confined beneath the girdle. In the above description I have described the only ecclesiastical vestments now in use among the Nestorians; those worn by the Patriarch and Bishops being of the same pattern, but of somewhat better materials. These robes, I ought to remark, are not generally used, except during the celebration of the Holy Eucharist and the administration of Baptism; at the daily prayers and other services of the Church, the priests seldom change their usual costume, which scarcely differs from that of the laymen, except in the turban, which with them is usually black or of a dark colour.

The annexed is a rough ground plan of Mar Gheorghees at Asheetha:—



Sometimes the Nestorian churches consist of three aisles, as does that of Mar Gheorghees at Leezan, which I visited in 1850, and of which the following is a sketch :—



All the churches in the Tyari are constructed of very rough materials, and the building, though substantial, is extremely rude and plain. The people, however, are very much attached to them, and numbers, I am persuaded, for greater safety would have settled in the plains after the massacre of 1843, had it not been for their associations connected therewith. "We would gladly go to Mosul," said many of them to me, "but how can we abandon the churches where our forefathers worshipped, and where their bones have rested through many generations?" The Syriac word for church is *Eta*, or *Oomra*; but the Nestorians frequently use the word *Deira*, which literally means a convent, though there are at present no monastic establishments in the mountains.

While on this subject, I may take the opportunity of noticing another of Dr. Grant's fallacies in his argument in favour of the Hebrew origin of the Nestorians, founded upon the internal arrangement of their churches, which he makes to agree with that of the Jewish temple, divided as it was into an inner and outer court, and a holy of holies. Now, if this identity of order proves any thing, it proves too much, since the same disposition is preserved not only in all the oriental, but also

in all the occidental churches, and which the doctor would doubtless have been well acquainted with, had he not been brought up a Presbyterian or Independent. The Nestorians divide their churches into a *kéela* (temple) or nave; a *khorâs*, choir or chancel; and a *medhbha* (altar) denoting the sanctuary or sacrarium, into which none but the clergy are allowed to enter. And the same remarks apply to the churches of the Chaldeans, Syrians, and other Christians in these districts.

The Nestorian clergy receive little support from their people, and consequently are obliged to work for their living as do the laity. They generally cultivate a small piece of land, and not unfrequently weave and make wooden spoons. It is customary however, for the villagers to help them gather in their harvest, and some give them a tithe of their own produce as they feel disposed. They receive no burial fees, and the trifle paid for baptism goes to the support of the church, and is taken by the *Wekeels*, or Wardens, who are supposed to apply it to that purpose. Besides this the churches generally possess a few acres of land, which the wardens cultivate on the same account, but not unfrequently apply it to their own use. The value of about one shilling is given to the priest for celebrating marriages, but half of this sum he is expected to return to the bridegroom after the service is concluded. The bishops are not much better off in this respect, the only tithe which they receive being a capitation tax to the amount of five pence yearly, levied upon every male within their respective dioceses who had reached the age of puberty. Offerings in kind are occasionally made to them by their parishioners at harvest-time; but the quantity is determined by the will of the donor. The income of the patriarch will be treated of hereafter.

The Nestorian clergy, however, have great influence over the people, by whom they are highly venerated, and who seek their advice in every affair of importance connected with their political and domestic concerns. On meeting a priest, or in taking leave of him, laymen always kiss his hand, and then lift it to their foreheads, and not unfrequently remove their caps or turbans partly off the head with the left hand whilst they take his in their right to raise it to their lips. In addressing a priest they call him "Râbi" (Rabbi,) or "Râbi Kâsha" (Rabbi Presbyter,)

and not unfrequently "Kessi," a Coordish word equivalent in meaning to our English "my dear," "my own," which term is also used by all classes in addressing the Patriarch. A Bishop is generally saluted as "Aboona," our father.

As the second volume of this work will be entirely devoted to an inquiry into the doctrines, rites, and ecclesiastical discipline, of the Nestorians, little need be said here on that subject; I shall proceed, however, to give an account of certain practices and superstitions prevalent among them which are more or less connected with their religious prejudices.

Sunday is observed with the greatest strictness by the Nestorians; none will work or travel on that day. It is generally spent by them in attending the services of the Church, in village conferences, and in rural amusements. Friday also, is considered sacred by the mountaineers to a certain extent; some go so far as to abstain from labour, and all deem it unlucky to enter upon any new undertaking on that day. "Sunday," said Mar Shimoon to me, "is a lucky day; but we do not work thereon, because there is a positive command forbidding us. Friday, on the contrary, has no such sanction, yet the fear of failure and disappointment prevents many from beginning any fresh enterprise on that day."

Once a year there is a kind of *agape* to commemorate the departed in all the mountain villages. This service generally takes place on some Saturday in the month of October, and for days previous such families as intend to contribute to the feast are busily engaged in preparing their offerings. These consist of lambs and bread which are brought into the church yard, and after the people have communicated of the holy Eucharist the priest goes forth, cuts several locks of wool off the fleeces and throws them into a censer. Whilst a deacon swings this to and fro in presence of the assembled guests, the priest recites the following anthem:

"THE FOLLOWING IS TO BE SAID OVER THE LAMBS THAT ARE SLAIN IN SACRIFICE FOR THE DEAD:—

Glory be to the FATHER, *and to the* SON, *and to the* HOLY GHOST, *both now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.*

When ye present oblations, and offer pure sacrifices, and bring

lambs to be slain, ye should first call the priests, who shall sign them with the sign of the cross before they are slain, and say over them these words: He was brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He opened not His mouth in His humility. O LORD, the mighty GOD, accept at our hands this oblation which we offer before Thee this day.

If ye vow a vow and purpose in your hearts to offer oblations and sacrifices, ye may not leave any part of it, but ye shall distribute the whole of it, and give the skins of the lambs to the Church.

If ye offer lambs to be slain in oblation, ye shall not bring them female but male, as was the oblation of Abraham and Isaac who sacrificed to their LORD, and the LORD will forgive our sins and the sins of our dead.

If ye bring lambs to be offered, the unbelieving and prayerless may not stretch out the knife upon them; but let him [who slays them] be pure that he may make others pure, whether he be Gentile or Christian, that the sheep slain may be fit for sacrifice.

Let this oblation which Thy servants offer to-day be for the forgiveness of their sins, and to their preservation and help, may it heal their wounds, and wipe out their transgressions, and save them from every plague. Even so, in Thy mercy, accept this oblation.

But if ye are not able to offer all male lambs, let there be female ones among them, that your work be not hindered; and if you so do in purity of heart, the LORD JESUS will accept your oblation.

O LORD, let this oblation which Thy servants have willingly and with a pure heart offered up before Thee this day be unto them a light in darkness to guide them to that place where all the righteous are at Thy right hand. Vouchsafe unto them, O LORD, the promised beatitudes, and the *denarius* of the bridal-chamber in the last day, that day of retribution.

O LORD, let the oblation which Thy servants have offered before Thee this day be acceptable as was that of faithful Abraham the righteous, who vowed his son in oblation and stretched out the knife upon his throat, whereupon he saw a lamb hung on a tree like his life-giving LORD who was crucified on Golgotha

to save Adam and his race from punishment, and became the origin of righteousness and salvation to every Christian. O LORD, accept this oblation.

O JESUS, let this work which Thy servants offer unto Thee to-day be acceptable before Thee as was the blessed David. Be Thou the quickener of their dead, the forgiver of their sins, the supporter of their children, the comforter of their aged, the giver of chastity to their youth, the shelter of their widows, the defender of their orphans, and the nourisher of their babes and sucklings. Accept at their hands this oblation, and save them from death.

O merciful LORD, let the oblation which Thy servants have offered before Thee be acceptable in Thy sight as was the zealous Elijah, and Abel the head of the building, and Solomon the just king, and Hezekiah the happy king, and Daniel the seer, and like the oblation of Jonah the Hebrew, and of Joseph the Egyptian, and like that of the righteous of old. Let this their oblation be to their forgiveness from this time forth and for ever; and let it be acceptable before the CREATOR and before JESUS the triumphant King as was Moses of old.

Accept, O LORD, who art the Living and the Son of the Living, who fillest the heaven of heavens, and art the upholder of the earth by Thy hidden power, the work of Thy servants; forgive their sins, purify them from their transgressions, heal their wounds, and pardon their ignorances. The Church now calleth upon Thee to deliver them from the hand of him that taketh captive, from sudden death, from the thief that cometh by night, from the power of the unseen Satan, from the fire of hell, and from the voice which speaketh in the night, which when Thy servants hear, O LORD, they shall rise from their graves, even at the living voice of JESUS the King. And when the elect righteous shall wake up, and when He shall come in the clouds of heaven to raise up the cast-out dead, as saith the prophet, then may they offer praise to the SON of the Highest.

O Thou compassionate One, accept at our hands the service which we offer this day, and deliver us from the Evil one, who is the Devil, and from unprofitable words, and from every destroying plague. Deliver Thy servants, O Thou merciful One, and accept at their hands this oblation.

O Thou compassionate One, have mercy upon us at this time, and accept from us this service. Hear our prayers and supplications, O Thou heavenly One, hasten to our help, and save our life from death, we sinners who have strayed, O Thou Blessed; we wicked and perverse, O Thou Strong One; we adulterers and liars, O Thou Upholder; we fornicators and plunderers, O Thou Helper; we sinners and blind, O Thou who dost give light; we vile and proud, O Thou pitiful One; we unjust and unmerciful, O Thou who art full of mercy; for if Thou shouldest weigh our sins the mountains would be found lighter than they. Woe unto us since we have become the companions of Satan!

On Thy great name, O Thou who art compassionate to all, do Thy servants call; have pity upon our life, O Thou who art the Quickener of all; put away from us all evil, cold, heat, locusts, grasshoppers, and blight, O Thou who dost avert adversity from all, through the prayers of the righteous who approved themselves unto Thee. Have mercy upon us, O Thou who art glorified of all, through the intercessions of the martyrs Mar Gheorghees and Mar Serghees, and of S. Mary the blessed, who put away all devouring insects, frost and death which destroy all, and who became a mother and parent to the Son of the Lord of all.

Accept from us this oblation which we have offered unto Thee with a joyful heart, through Thy own name, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the great and Eternal King, at whose command the glorious sun and moon go forth, and by whose hand all creation is upheld. On this day may the souls of Thy servants mix in glory and blessedness with Elijah and Enoch the meek, and in exultation and joy with Titus and Onesimus, and with the martyr Kuriakôs; may they rise up from their graves and put on glory, and ascribe honour and praise to Thy name.

Accept, O Lord the mighty God, the oblation which Thy servants offer up unto Thee this day as Thou didst the oblation of Abel in the field, and that of the blessed Noah after the deluge, and that of Elijah the righteous prophet, and Melchizedeck the high priest and priest, and Moses with whom God spake in a vision.—Even so, O Lord, in Thy mercy accept this oblation.

Accept, O Lord, this sacrifice as Thou didst the widow's two

mites which she cast into Thy treasury, and the oblation which Thy Apostles offered in the upper chamber, and like those which the true martyrs of the Old and New Testaments offered up unto Thee in love and purity.

O Lord, the High, the Excellent, the Compassionate, who sittest on the ship of the clouds, at whose voice the dead shall rise up in the twinkling of an eye,—accept, we pray Thee, this service of Thy servants, and save them from death, give them the reward of heavenly happiness, deliver them from destruction, and from the envious and unpitying, O Christ, who art the hope of all who put their trust in Thee.

O Lord God the immortal, O Jesus the just, His only Son Christ, accept from this congregation the oblation which they offer up unto Thee with Diodorus, and Theodorus, and Mar Nestorius, and Anthonius, and Macarius, and Pachomius, and Serapion, and Arsamas, and with the seven youths of the cave of Ephesus, who fled from before Decius, and slept a sleep of three hundred years at the order of the Immortal, and the Lord of the sleepers awoke them. Have pity upon Thy servants who have offered these prayers and supplications unto Thee, through the intercession of the Apostles and Fathers the companions of Peter, and of the orthodox doctors, and of Stephen the first-fruits of the martyrs, and of Mar Gheorghees.

Upon Thee, O Jesus the triumphant King, do I who am a sinner call; cleanse me, O Lord, from my sins, save me from the hand of him who taketh captive, and do not number me with those who are on the left hand; but mingle me with those who are on the right, and fit me, in Thy mercy, for that kingdom which passeth not away, that I may exult with Enoch and Elijah, and with David the prophet, who sang hallelujahs by night and by day. Unto Thee lift I up mine eyes, O Thou that dwellest in the heavens, even as the eyes of a servant do look unto his master, that Thou mayest have mercy upon me in that great day when Thou shalt appear in Thy glory. Have pity upon Thy servant according to his need; have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to Thy grace when Thy justice shall judge us at the last day. Rebuke me not in Thine anger, but save me, through Thy name, in this world from all mine enemies, and from those who hate me. O Lord, I have called upon

Thy name, answer Thou me. Listen, O Lord, to my words, and accept this service at the hands of Thy servants.

Be, O Lord, a help unto me; O Lord, be Thou my keeper at sunset, sunrising, and at noon, and deliver me in this transitory world from the power of the hater.

Hear, O God, and have mercy upon me, O Lord Jesus. In Thee, O Lord, have I put my trust, let me not be confounded at the last day. Rebuke me not, O Lord, in Thine anger for ever. Hear, O Lord, my voice when I call upon Thee, O Thou who dost exist from eternity, in the afternoon, at morning-tide, and at noon, by day and by night. Thou art my God, Thou art my God, upon Thee do I wait; save me from mine enemies, and have mercy upon me, O Lord.

O Jesus, forgive the dead who confess Thy glorious natures, and who were baptized in Thy name, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who rejoicest all, and have mercy upon us."

The above anthem concluded, the lambs are cut up and divided amongst those present, and so also the bread. On these occasions many come from distant villages to join with their brethren in commemorating the festival. A similar custom prevails among the Jacobites, Papal Syrians, and Chaldeans of these parts. Such of them as can afford it kill a lamb, and distribute bread and other provisions among the poor a week or month after the decease of any of their near relatives, with the idea that these offerings in some way profit the souls of the departed. We have already noticed a yearly feast of the Yezeedees very nearly allied to the practice of the Nestorians as above described; but whether kept up with the same design it is difficult to determine.

Dr. Grant notices another species of sacrifice which is occasionally offered up among the Nestorians. These, he says, "are usually offered to return thanks for God's benefits, or to obtain new favours from Him; as, for instance, the recovery of sick friends, or their own restoration to health. The animal is then usually slain before the door of the church, when a little of the blood is often put upon the door or lintel. The right shoulder and breast belong to the officiating priest of the church, though he does not always receive them, either through neglect

of the person who offers the sacrifice, or, as some of the priests informed me, from a wish to avoid following the wicked example of Eli's sons, who made the sacrifices of the temple an occasion of selfish gratification. Few, however, refuse their portion on this account. The skin is also given to the priest, as was required in the burnt offerings. Lev. vii. 8." And this the doctor considers as a corroborative evidence of the Hebrew lineage of the Nestorians. But here again we may observe that this argument proves too much, since the Mohammedans throughout Turkey often sacrifice a lamb with the same intention at the door of their *Mezárs* (shrines), and sprinkle the building with the blood of the slaughtered animal, which is afterwards cut up and distributed among the people of the village. A like practice still prevails among the Jacobites around Mosul and in Jebel Toor.

On another religious rite common among the Nestorians, the same author writes: "'Whosoever toucheth the dead body of any man that is dead, and purifieth not himself, defileth the tabernacle of the LORD: because the water of separation was not sprinkled upon him, he shall be unclean.' Numb. xix. 13. This is the sentiment of the Nestorians; but, as in many other cases, it is modified by Christianity. *Baptism*, it is affirmed, purifies our bodies, so that no contamination is received from the dead body of a Christian. But if any person touch the dead body of a Jew, a Moslem, or a heathen, he is considered unclean, and must not touch any clean thing, or enter a church, till he has been duly purified with water. They are also careful to wash themselves after their own burial services."

The following office extracted from their own rituals, and which is still in use among the Nestorians, will serve to give a just idea of the original design of this practice, and to correct the somewhat confused idea respecting the same conveyed in the above paragraph.

"THE PURIFICATION OF UNCLEAN WATER.

Our FATHER, &c.

Prayer.

May the adorable name of Thy glorious Trinity be ever worshipped, glorified, honoured, praised, blessed, and magnified, in

heaven and in earth, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Anthem.

He who is from everlasting.—The Lord *is praised in the highest.* O Thou Self-Existent, Who dwellest in the lofty place, Who commandest and rulest over the depths, let the right hand of Thy majesty rest upon this unclean water, sanctify it in Thy compassion, that it may be to the forgiveness of the people, through the prayers of the nine ranks [of angels] and of the perfect and such as fast.

Prayer.

In Thy grace have pity upon us, O Thou compassionate One; turn Thee unto us, O Thou who art full of mercy; cease not to look upon us and to care for us, for our hope and trust are in Thee at all times, and in all places, O Lord of all, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Canon.

Psalm li.—With the hyssop of Thy mercies let our souls be healed, O Thou compassionate One.

Doxology.

Come to our help, O Lord, and strengthen our weakness, for our hope is in Thee by night and by day.

O Christ, who dost not forget any who call upon Thee, in Thy mercy, cast not out the prayer of Thy worshippers.

¶ *Then the deacon shall carry the vessel containing the water to the priest, who shall say over it this*

Prayer.

O Thou compassionate One, Whose name is holy, Whose abode is holy, and the place of Whose dwelling is holy, and holy are the powers above who sing thrice holy unto Thee in their hallelujahs, and Who art unceasingly worshipped by the Holies of the corporeal and incorporeal essences with holy voices; sanctify, O Lord, the temple of our souls, cleanse the thoughts of our hearts, heal our diseases, blot out our ignorances, pardon our sins, and make us, O Lord, pure temples for Thy great Godhead, and adorned abodes meet for the honour of Thy service,

O Thou sanctifier of all by the power of Thy word and spirit, O LORD of all, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST. Amen.

With Thy blessing, O LORD, may Thy servants be blessed, and through the care of Thy providence may Thy worshippers be kept, and may the eternal security of Thy Godhead, and the endless peace of Thy sovereignty reign among Thy people and in Thy Church all the days of the world, O LORD of all, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST. Amen.

¶ *Then the priest shall say as follows:*

By that sovereign and divine command wherewith the waters of Jordan were sanctified when our SAVIOUR was baptized therein by the hands of His servant John, may this water be cleansed from all uncleanness of dead and drowned [corpses], and be to the life and health of all who shall drink thereof or wash therewith, in the name of the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST. Amen.

¶ *Here the priest shall sign the water with the sign of the cross, and shall afterwards say:*

We beseech Thee, O Thou holy One, who by Thy baptism, didst sanctify all seas, rivers, streams, springs, and fountains, to sanctify by Thy grace this water; let Thy HOLY SPIRIT rest upon it that it may be to the help and health of body and soul, in the name of the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST. Amen.

¶ *Here the priest shall again sign the water, and say:*

May the sovereign and divine power hidden in the sign of the cross rest upon this water, that it may be to the health of body and soul, and in the name of the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST. Amen.

¶ *Here the priest shall conclude by signing the water a third time.*"

The object, then, of this office is not to remove any personal contamination derived from touching a dead body, for no such idea is entertained by the Nestorians; but to purify the water in which any animal has been drowned, or into which any corpse has been thrown. On my first arrival at Amedia I had an opportunity of witnessing the performance of this service: a cow had fallen into a cistern in one of the adjacent villages, and a messenger was sent to Kasha Mendu with a bowl of the water,

over which he recited the above form; after which he told me that not only was the water thereby purified from all defilement, but the flesh of the cow, which before was unclean from having been drowned, might now be eaten. The more common use of this office, however, is at burials: thus, if there happens to be a running stream in the road over which a funeral has passed, on returning from the grave the company stand on its banks whilst the priest goes through the service; if not, it is read over a bowl filled at the same spring or well from whence the water was brought with which the dead body was washed. It appears, therefore, that in all these cases the water is supposed to be contaminated by contact with corpses, and not the persons of those who touch or wash them. The Chaldeans, since their union with the Church of Rome, have abolished this ceremony.

As might be expected in a people among whom education has been neglected for so many ages, and who cannot consequently be supposed to possess any deep or adequate sense of the high and holy truths which they profess, the Nestorians entertain many superstitions respecting the powers of evil, and the value of certain talismans to allay or counteract them. Thus they have charms against the evil eye, the poison of reptiles and plants, the rot and other diseases in sheep, the tyranny of rulers and the designs of wicked men, &c. most of which adverse influences are believed to be destroyed by certain passages of Holy Writ which are profanely used to this end. I have in my possession an entire volume of these charms, from which the following specimens are translated.

Charm to remove hatred.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the security of the world and the peace of the universe, reconcile A. B. with C. D. by the power of that voice which called unto Cain the fratricide from heaven, saying, "Am I my brother's keeper?" In like manner, and by the power of the same voice, may the malice and hatred of A. B. be openly destroyed, and all quarrels and disputes cease betwixt these two parties; so that A. B. and C. D. may agree together in love, and the gate of the sanctuary and the door of mercy be open to them, and the mouth of the devil be stopped against them, and they never again turn to

hate one another; but let them be bound together in love and concord, and give heed to one another, in the name of the glorious Trinity. Amen.

Charm to destroy love and excite hatred.

In the name of the FATHER, &c. I beseech Thee, O Almighty LORD, that A. B. may separate from G. D. [a woman,] as far as the east is from the west, and the north from the south; and that as wax melteth before the fire so the love of A. B. the son of C. B. may melt, pass away, and be extinguished, from the heart of G. D. the daughter of H. D., and that as snow melteth from off the mountains, and ice from the cliffs, so A. B. may be separated from G. D. in the name of the devil, whose it is to instil hatred instead of joy. Amen.

Charm to prevent a smelting furnace from kindling.

In the name of the FATHER, &c. when thou passest through the fire thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flames kindle upon thee. Nebuchadnezzar the king ordered the furnace to be kindled and cast therein the three children Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, and an angel was sent from heaven who scattered a dew upon them and the fire was extinguished. By the same power and command I bind, cast out, and excommunicate the fire, that it may not flame, kindle, or burn, so that the fire may not burn the wood, nor the wood the metal, in the furnace of A. B. the son of D. B. [his mother] by the same power by which S. George extinguished the furnace of fire which was kindled for him eleven days. By that same power let the fire in the furnace of A. B. be extinguished, that it may neither flame nor ignite on the right hand or on the left, and let it be so bound until I shall loosen it. Amen.

Charm to excite love in a man towards a woman.

I ascend seven mountains, and descend into seven valleys, and I saw there a tree of frankincense, and I conjure with awful oaths, that as incense burns in the fire even so may A. B. the son of C. B. [his mother] burn with the love of C. D. the daughter of E. D. [her mother.] Amen.

Charm to excite love in a woman towards a man.

In the name of the talismans, Hâzo, Tôf, Miseeteeso, Mar Dileetos, Partos Isteepis, Mar Yesus, Diotaros, and Maximus, go presently and hastily to A. B. the daughter of C. B. and deprive her of her mind and understanding, that she may run after M. D. the son of N. D. I demand of these names that A. B. may also go after M. D. and follow him from house to house, from town to town, from village to village, from city to city, and from market to market. Even so order it to be. Amen and Amen.

I regret to state that the clergy are generally the authors of these absurd and profane effusions; and I was not a little surprised to learn, on my visit to Leczan in 1850, that Kasha Kena, who is so highly spoken of both by Mr. Ainsworth and Mr. Layard, is in the practice of drawing up and transcribing similar charms, which he sells to the people in the surrounding villages.

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival of Mar Shimoon at Asheetha.—Demonstrations of loyalty and respect on the part of the villagers.—Description of Mar Shimoon.—His address to the people of Asheetha.—Arrival of deputies from Noorallah Beg.—Their message and the violence of Deacon Ishâk the Patriarch's brother.—Reply of Mar Shimoon to the Coordish Emeer.—Interviews with the Patriarch regarding missionary operations among the Nestorians.—Extract of a Report to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts on the same subject.—Letter of Mar Shimoon to the Archbishop of Canterbury.—Return to Amedia.—Church of Mar Audishu.—Many Nestorians eat swine's flesh.—Journey through the Mezuriyeh mountains, and return to Mosul.

It is now time to resume our narrative. After waiting two days I was agreeably surprised to hear that Mar Shimoon had reached the adjoining village of Serspeedho on his way to Asheetha. No sooner was this intelligence made known than as many as twenty of the peasants began to make preparations for his reception. Five or six occupied themselves in raising a rude stone in the centre of the common hall, to which the fire was to be removed from beneath the chimney, where it could not be enjoyed by all the expected company. Some brought clean straw to spread over the place which was to serve as the Patriarch's seat and bed; whilst others ran from house to house collecting wood and provisions for his use. All was bustle, hurry, and confusion in anticipation of the coming visit. Four porters next appeared carrying the Patriarch's baggage, which was placed in a corner of the room, and such articles taken therefrom as were known to be requisite, such as a carpet, mattress, pillow, and six small coffee-cups. A copper ewer seemed to attract the notice and affection of an old woman, who, as soon as it was produced laid hold of it and covered it with kisses. For two hours the village was in a complete uproar, when it was an-

nounced that the Patriarch had made his appearance on the top of the mountains. A general turn-out now took place; men, women, and children to the number of a thousand, congregated round the church, whilst the more hardy and zealous went forward to be the first to greet their chief. I joined myself to this party, and in exchange for my salutation of kissing the Patriarch's hand received his blessing and a hearty welcome. The group was now one of indescribable interest, and the scene around grand in the extreme. Mountains upon mountains hemmed in the secluded valley on every side, the village poured forth its tenants from the scattered dwellings, who flocked from every quarter, some leading a son or daughter through the deep snow, whilst mothers were seen bearing in their arms their infant offspring whom they presented to the Patriarch that he might lay his hands upon them and bless them. Arrived at the church Mar Shimoon and his followers went up directly to the door and kissed the cross engraven on the wall above it. He then sat down on the step leading into the church, the assembled crowd standing at a respectful distance: he seemed to know every one present, and as each came forward in a stooping posture, and with uncovered head, to kiss his hand, he greeted him with some familiar inquiry about his own weal and that of his family.

I cannot better describe the person of Mar Shimoon than by quoting the language of Dr. Grant: "The patriarch is thirty-eighty ears of age, [he was four years older when I first saw him,] above the middle stature, well-proportioned, with an expressive and rather intelligent countenance; while his large flowing robes, his Coordish turban, and his long grey beard, give him a patriarchal and venerable aspect, which is heightened by an uniformly dignified demeanour: were it not for the youthful fire in his eye, and his vigour and activity, I should have thought him nearer fifty than thirty-eight. But his friends assured me that the hoariness of his beard and locks was that of care and not of age. His situation is certainly a difficult and responsible one, since he is, in an important sense, the temporal as well as the spiritual head of his people. To preserve harmony and settle differences between the various tribes of his spirited mountaineers, and with the Coords by whom they are surrounded, is a labour that would

tax the wisdom of the greatest statesman; and I could hardly wonder that the hoar-frost of care was prematurely sitting upon his locks. It was quite evident that the patriarch's anxiety extended not less to the temporal than to the spiritual wants of his flock, as his first inquiries related particularly to their political prospects, the movements of Turkey, the designs of the European powers with regard to these countries, and why they did not come and break the arm of Mohammedan power, by which many of his people had been so long oppressed, and for fear of which the main body of them were shut up in their mountain fastnesses." This description applies in every respect to Mar Shimoon when I first saw him: in his person he had altered little if at all; but there was a heavier gloom upon his brow, and dark forebodings of the gathering storm which was so soon to burst upon himself and people, frequently found utterance and mingled with his familiar talk. The portrait in the frontispiece was taken seven years later, when the unfortunate patriarch was a mere wreck of his former self.

From the church the assembly repaired to the common room, which was soon thronged with the elders of the village, who sat round the fire in a semicircle opposite the Patriarch. Deacon Ishâk took his seat at the head of the company at a respectful distance from his brother Mar Shimoon, who opened the meeting by referring to a letter which he had lately received from Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, complaining that some of the Tyari Nestorians had consorted with Ziner Beg, a Coordish chief whom he had outlawed, but who was now protected by Bedr Khan Beg, and had committed several excesses in the districts within his jurisdiction. "Friends and brethren," said the Patriarch, "I am come hither on business of the government; on the business of Mohammed Pasha of Mosul. It remains with you to decide whether you will accede to my proposition at once, or whether you will detain me here forty days longer." This prelude was answered by a low bow from all present, and the exclamation proceeding from a hundred voices of "Upon our heads you are come; upon our eyes are you come;" an eastern metaphor expressive of their loyalty and devotion. His holiness proceeded: "Your words incline me to believe that you are my obedient followers; and why should it not be so? Other

villages accuse me of partiality to you, and you all know my affection for you." (Cries of "We are your servants; we are your subjects.") "Yet I fear that there are some among you who are not faithful,—some there are even at Asheetha who do as they please, follow what leader they please, and acknowledge no other authority than their own. Tell me, whose subjects are you? Are you under the control of Noorallah Beg of Hakkari, or of Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, or of Bedr Khan Beg of Jezeerah, or of Ziner Beg?" (Cries of "We are your slaves; walk over our necks: we will die for you.") "Some of you, I understand, consort with Ziner Beg; now, are you so blind that you cannot foresee the consequences of such folly? Ziner Beg is a rebel, and it has been intimated to me by Mohammed Pasha that some of you are abetting him. It is the intention of the Pasha to send a strong force against him, and such a charge proved against you would be amply sufficient to justify his proceeding to attack you also. And are you so desirous to see the infidel soldiers among you, that you are doing all in your power to invite them?" (Cries of "God forbid.") "Are we not suffering enough at present from other quarters, that you must needs plunge yourselves into misery irremediable? As it is, while you are at peace with Mohammed Pasha, and on good terms with the Coords of Berwari, you can go and come, cut wood for your fires, gather thorns for your sheep, trade and travel, without fear of molestation; but if it be true that you are abetting Ziner Beg, as I said before, you cannot go a better way to lose those advantages, and to put a yoke upon your necks such as you have not hitherto borne." Here the Patriarch paused, while those present conversed together in an under breath, wondering what would be the finale of their chieftain's address, and evidently at a loss to discover who were the culprits among them. After leaving them a little time to breathe freely, the Patriarch proceeded: "Friends and brethren, if you wish to prove to the Pasha of Mosul and to me that you are faithful, I will advise you what to do. You must assemble a force of 300 strong from this village, and march instantly against Ziner Beg, rout his followers, and if possible capture the chief alive or dead. I understand that he has not many men with him, and your cause and courage are better than his. In thus doing you

will remove the most distant cause of complaint against you, and Mohammed Pasha will be convinced of your sincerity."

Mar Shimoon had scarcely ended this spirited address when a villager announced that two armed Coords were descending the mountains from Serspeedho. "Watch if no more follow," said the Patriarch. In the course of half an hour two Coordish sheikhs, accompanied by a Nestorian priest who had been sent with them from the adjoining village, entered the hall. The priest came forward, knelt on one knee while he kissed the Patriarch's hand and received his benediction. The Coords first made a low bow at the door, then approached most reverently, and after having placed a letter on the ground before Mar Shimoon, stood with folded arms until directed to sit. The Patriarch, who seemed to know at once that the message came from Noorallah Beg, the Coordish Emeer of Hakkari, rose for a moment with the letter in his hand in token of respect, and then resumed his seat. The purport of the embassy was a request on the part of Noorallah Beg that Mar Shimoon would appoint some place mid-way between Chamba and Julamerk where both might meet in order to effect a reconciliation and to cement their friendship. On hearing this, Shammâsha Ishâk, the Patriarch's brother, broke out into a furious invective. "What," said he, "send to make friends with us whom he has driven forth to wander about the mountains for the last nine years? Mighty fine terms he will doubtless propose! Is not Noorallah Beg the man who has oppressed us as we were never yet oppressed? Is it not he who has sullied our honour in the face of our people?" (Cries of "Never, never," from the villagers.) "Is it not Noorallah Beg who burnt our paternal dwelling, and made us vagabonds in our own land? No, the land does not belong to us or to him, but to these," snatching down my Turkish fez, putting it upon my head, and pointing to me as I sat a silent spectator of the scene.* "And now he would make peace to

* For greater convenience and protection in travelling I generally put on the large Turkish red cap, but this I had laid aside on my arrival at Asheetha for the usual clerical dress which I wore during my residence in the East, consisting of a cassock and girdle, a cloak of more simple make than our academical gown, and a black velvet cap. By fixing the fez upon my head I suppose the Patriarch's brother wished the Coords to believe that I was a Turkish official on duty from the Government.

lull us into security, and to put us off our guard, in order that in a few months he may follow up his game and enslave us. Make peace with him? No, never; except at the point of our daggers." The messengers listened in mute astonishment to this fiery speech, while the villagers silently waited the reply of their chief. In his ordinary tone, and without the least expression of excitement, the Patriarch calmly observed: "Though far from approving of the spirit which my brother has manifested, much that he has said is undoubtedly true. We have not been treated well by Noorallah Beg, and therefore cannot be expected to place much confidence in his overtures. Yet we love peace, and wish to be friends with all men." Here the Coordish messengers interposed, and protested most solemnly that their master had the greatest respect for the Patriarch, and that his only desire now was to establish a lasting treaty of friendly alliance with him. The audience continued for about two hours, throughout which Mar Shimoon spoke in the same prudent and cautious language, and Deacon Ishâk, on his part, remained as stern and inflexible as when he opened his first tirade against Noorallah Beg. A suitable lodging was provided for the Coordish sheikhs by order of the Patriarch, who gave strict charge that they should be treated with every mark of respect. "See to it," said he, "that they want for nothing; and remember that they are my guests and the confidential messengers of Noorallah Beg."

After the messengers had left the room the Patriarch held a consultation with the elders of the village, when it was decided what answer should be sent to the Coordish Emeer. Accordingly on the morrow the two chiefs were sent for, and to them the Patriarch committed the following message: "In the first place present my warmest congratulations to your master, and tell him that I reciprocate all his good wishes and intentions towards me. I am far from being averse from friendship and peace, and heartily desire that the best understanding should exist between us; but as to appointing a place for personal conference, several causes prevent my doing so at present, and I therefore beg that the Emeer will accept my excuses. The snows cover the mountains, and the roads are almost impassable, as you well know who have been seven days in travelling hither from Julamerk,

consequently it would be difficult for me to undertake such a journey now. Moreover, our lenten fast is near, and before that is over I could not think of entering upon any business to be transacted at so great a distance. Besides, (pointing to me who served him for a third excuse) this my guest has come a long way to see me, and it would be rude in me to leave him for some time." On receiving this message, which they did standing, the two Coords, accompanied by the priest who had guided them to Asheetha, bowed to the ground and took their departure.

I cannot give the reader a better account of my proceedings in the mountains, with respect to the mission entrusted to me, than by quoting several extracts from a report to the committee of the Gospel Propagation Society, written after my return to Mosul, and dated March 30th, 1843.

"During my stay at Asheetha I had two long private conferences with the Patriarch, when I laid before him my letters commendatory from His Grace the Primate, the Lord Bishop of London, and the Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem.* He appeared highly gratified with the contents, but expressed surprise that he had hitherto heard so little of us. I took frequent occasion, however, to lay before him, and many of his clergy and people, the character, teaching, and discipline, of our holy Church. I thought at times that my statements were not received with perfect confidence; but when I proceeded to confirm them by extracts from our ritual all doubt seemed to be removed. I had brought with me a copy of our Prayer Book in Arabic as a present to his Holiness, hoping that some of the mountain clergy would be able to read it; but in this I was disappointed. 'You must translate it for us into Syriac,' said Mar Shimoon, 'in order that we may know more correctly what are the doctrines and usages of your Church.' The same desire was expressed by several of the clergy, and I hope that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge will afford me every assistance in undertaking that work. It is a necessary step which will gain for us more than any other measure the confidence of the people, and without which we shall make but little progress, especially at the outset.

* Copies of these letters are given in the Introduction to this volume.

"Our proposals to establish schools were well received by Mar Shimoon, who promised to open ten in as many of the largest mountain villages; but the Patriarch endeavoured to impress upon me, that unless something be done for the Nestorians in a political point of view, the establishment of schools, or any other kindred measures, in the present unsettled state of the mountains, will be very precarious. Noorallah Beg, the Coordish Emeer of Hakkari, has virtually robbed them of their independence, and unless timely assistance be rendered to the Christian population, we may soon expect to see them entirely subjugated by the barbarous and lawless Coords. . . . .

"The proceedings of the American Dissenters here necessarily formed a leading topic of our discourse. Through the influence of Noorallah Beg they have been permitted to settle in the mountains, and two large establishments, one at Asheetha and the other at Leezan, a village one day distant, are at present in course of being built. They have also a school in actual existence at Asheetha, the expenses of which are defrayed by the board, and, if I am rightly informed, another at Leezan. . . . . I did not fail to acquaint the Patriarch how far we are removed in doctrine and discipline, from the American Independent missionaries, and this I did not so much by exposing their system as by unfolding the principles of our own Church; for Mar Shimoon seemed well aware of their distinguishing tenets. I showed him, moreover, that it would be injudicious, and would by no means satisfy us to have schools among his people by the side of theirs, and pressed upon him to decide what plan he would pursue under existing circumstances. I think the Patriarch expressed his real sentiments for the peculiar doctrines of the Independents when he said: 'I hold them as cheap as an onion;' but there are other considerations which have more influence in inclining him to keep on friendly terms with the missionaries. In the first place, Dr. Grant has gained the *apparent* good-will of Noorallah Beg, and the Patriarch may fear that if he manifests any alteration in his conduct towards the American missionaries the Emeer might revenge it. Secondly, although I am fully convinced that there is hardly a Nestorian in the mountains who sympathizes with the doctrine or discipline of the Dissenters whenever these differ from their own,

yet I am persuaded, that from the Patriarch to the poorest peasant all value the important services of a good physician; and besides this, they highly prize the money which the missionaries have already expended and are still expending among them with no niggardly hand in presents, buildings, schools, &c. I am sorry to say that the mountaineers, from the highest to the lowest, appear to be an over-reaching and gift-loving people, of which I had abundant proof in the continual demands made upon me, both by clergy and laity during my short stay at Asheetha. They look for these as a matter of course, and are not only disappointed but even affronted by a refusal. The presents which I took in my hand to the Patriarch satisfied him at the time, as did also those which I gave to his brother and Kash' Auraha, his archdeacon; but since my return to Mosul I have received a written request from the former to send him the sum of £120 for the expenses of schools, a mare, a silk girdle, and a string of coral beads; and from the latter, a demand for £5 in money, a scarlet cloak, and a silk turban. These requests are tendered in the most business-like way, as if the petitioners had the right to make, and it was our duty to grant them.

"In consequence of Mar Shimoon's letter, touching the schools, wherein he informs me, that he has already opened two according to his promise, and hopes soon to open eight more, I have sent Kasha Mendu to inform his Holiness, that although I prefer that the priests who act as teachers should be paid through him, yet I am not at liberty to place such large sums of money at his disposal; that as soon as the schools are established, I shall either go or send Mr. Fletcher to visit them;—that I am willing to make the remittances to him for the teacher's salary every three months, but that these salaries must be fixed beforehand. In the meantime, I consent to advance him a small sum to cover the expenses of opening the schools, and for making other necessary arrangements in connexion therewith. I have, moreover, requested his Holiness to inform Kasha Mendu, where he has already opened the two schools mentioned in his letter, and have directed the priest to visit them before he returns; as I have some fear that he may mean those under the direction of the American Missionaries at

Asheetha and Leezan. I may be mistaken, but I have my doubts on the subject. . . . .

"But there is one subject connected with the establishment of schools to which the attention of the Church has already been called, but which I beg again to lay before the Committee at home for their serious consideration. If we establish schools we must have books, for of these the Nestorians have none except those used in the churches, which are in a language understood by the Clergy only, and not generally even by them. If we are to superintend the preparation of elementary books for education, we must have the assistance of persons competent for the task. To enter upon this work, however, without the consent and promised support of the Church, we cannot, lest like the man who failed in building his house, because he had not previously calculated his resources, our failure may be more serious. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has voted £500 for this purpose; but unless an equal vote is promised yearly from the funds of the Church, we must soon forbear working. We are anxiously waiting the Societies' reply to our first report on this subject before we enter upon the necessary preliminaries.

"Moreover, I have made arrangements with Kasha Mendu for opening a school at Amedia, to be taught by him, and on his return from the Patriarch, he will probably be accompanied by the Nestorian priests of Dirgni and Mezi, with whom I intend to consult about a similar measure to be adopted in these two villages. The only book available for schools is the Syriac psalter, of which Kasha Mendu possesses several manuscript copies; but how little the children will be profited by this, you may easily imagine when you hear that it is written in a language of which they hardly understand a sentence. The advantages to be gained, however, at the outset are these: the children will thereby have been collected together, the school will have been formed, and the people will have been led to sanction and approve of the measure by seeing the pupils receive the same primary instruction as all among them do when they first begin to read. Other advantages might be enumerated, not the least of which is the influence which these schools will undoubtedly have in preventing the Nestorians remaining in the

Supna and in the Berwari district, from joining the ranks of the papal Chaldeans.

"Yet if this be all that the Church will undertake, it will be doing but little indeed, and therefore we beg that the Societies at home will not delay sending us such powers as may enable us to carry out the recommendations made in a former report. To that I refer your committee in preference to entering into any fresh details, or of making any new propositions, with regard to our proceedings in this country. Many Chaldeans at Mosul are anxiously waiting for us to enter upon some such measures as have already been proposed, and if these are sanctioned, I dare to express the hope, that through the Divine blessing, the Church of England will be instrumental in doing much good to the ancient churches in these regions."

Before leaving Asheetha Mar Shimoon gave me a letter addressed to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, of which the following is a translation.*

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"The salutation of safety from God, and the peace of our Lord, from the mouth of Mar Shimoon, Catholicos and Patriarch of the Eastern regions, to you the Primate and Archbishop, the Catholicos and Patriarch of the English regions.

"Be it known unto your Grace that the presbyter George came unto us in these Eastern parts, and brought unto us three affectionate Epistles, one from your Grace, another from the Lord Bishop of London, and a third from the Bishop of the Holy City Jerusalem, which Epistles he read and explained in our hearing. We rejoiced exceedingly and beyond measure, first on account of the words which you sent to us in your fatherly epistles, and secondly, because of the arrival of George, the elect presbyter, and your deputy. He himself witnessed the

* The original of the above, and of several other letters from Mar Shimoon, addressed to the Primate and Bishops of the English Church, which will be found in this work, are preserved I believe in the archiepiscopal archives at Lambeth.

† All the Patriarch's epistles are headed with this cipher. The two Syriac letters stand for JAH, and the three dots above and the one below them are intended to denote the Trinity in Unity.

afflictions which we suffer from the Hanafites, [Mohammedans,] and we also related to him what we have to endure from their tyranny, and he will communicate all this to your Grace in our behalf. The above mentioned presbyter, George, underwent many hardships, and encountered many difficulties, in his way to us, first, on account of the severity of the cold and the winter, and secondly, from the enemies who surround us; but the grace of God delivered him out of every danger. And be it known unto you, that he is our agent from us to you, and we pray that the Lord may preserve you from all evil and harm. And we moreover beg, that the eye of your Grace may be directed towards us, that it may not be true of you as our Lord saith, in His teaching: 'I was in prison and ye visited Me not,' &c. for we are at present in slavery to the Hanafites. Besides, we heard from the presbyter George, how that you had offered assistance to us in money to be expended in schools for our benefit; and in this matter also, let the presbyter be the agent betwixt us. So much to your Grace.

"Written on the 17th of Shbât, in the village of Asheetha, in the year of our Lord 1843."

L. S.

March 3rd.—Before starting from Asheetha, the Patriarch made me a present of some mountain-grown tobacco, and several wax tapers, which he had brought with him for his own use. We left early in the morning and in less than half an hour reached the foot of Kadoma. Two lusty Nestorians had come with me for the purpose of carrying me up the steep ascent; but all their efforts were in vain. After several tumbles I determined to proceed alone, and finally succeeded in reaching the high table-land. The snows were still on the ground, and we were obliged to trudge on foot to Amedia, where we arrived in safety the day following, after having spent a night at the small Nestorian village of Mâya in the Berwari.

March 4th.—Went this morning with Kasha Mendu, to visit the Church of Mar Abd Yeshua (vulg. Mar Audishu,) near the village of Deiri, about three miles to the east of Amedia. Our road lay over the off-shoots of the Tcah Meteenah, now covered with anemones, irises, and the other wild flowers, which decked

the mountain sides with their gay and lively colouring. Deiri, (so called from the church,) is pleasantly situated in a deep ravine, and shaded with a thick grove of fruit trees. The air in the vicinity was perfumed with the fragrance of violets which grow in rich abundance on the hills and valleys around. We found the church deserted, and in a very dilapidated condition:* in its internal construction, it resembles that of Mar Gheorghees at Leezan, consisting of three parallel chapels, that on the south side serving for the Baptistery, which appears to be its position in all the Nestorian village churches. Tradition says, that Mar Audishu was erected 366 years before Mohammed, and that it was at one time served by forty-two monks, who resided in the natural caves hard by.

This church is held in great veneration by the Mohammedans of the surrounding districts, who generally respect such places of Christian worship as were built before the advent of the False Prophet. Ismael Agha, the *Kiahya* of Amedia, told me in a very serious tone, that a Coord of his acquaintance who had become mad, having been bound within the walls for a night, was found in his right mind in the morning following. Kasha Mendu drew forth from under a heap of stones the iron chain and collar used on these occasions, and if the testimony of the Nestorians is to be implicitly received, many wonderful cures have been effected on maniacs by similar treatment.

In the yard of the church I observed the skin of a wild boar which had been killed the day before by a Mohammedan, and had been brought hither by the Nestorians to dry, after which they intended to cut it up into sandals. On inquiring whether the Nestorians ate the flesh, and manifesting myself some disgust at the idea, I was informed that not only did they eat it, but that I also had partaken of some sausages made with the flesh of that identical animal the night preceding. Kasha Mendu told me, however, that his people have taken such licence only within the last few years; the mountain Nestorians, as well as the Jacobites of Jebel Toor, still manifest great abhorrence for swine's flesh, and the same prejudice is not uncommon even at

* I was glad to find, on my visit in 1850, that this church had been restored, and that the Lord's Supper was administered in it to a congregation of Nestorians from Amedia and the adjacent villages by Kasha Mendu.

the present day among the papal Syrians and Chaldeans of the plains.

On our return to Amedia, I accidentally heard of a young Jacobite lad, who had been forced to embrace Islamism. On my return to Mosul, I made an application to the Pasha, on the subject, and succeeded, after some trouble, in procuring his liberation, after which he was permitted to join his church without molestation.

March 6th.—We left Amedia at 7 A. M., and after crossing the Supna, made the western rump of Jebel Gara about noon. The road now ran through two ravines covered with valonia-oak, and at 2 P.M., we reached the Coordish village of Spindar, (the Zindar of Ainsworth.) The southern side of the Gara is quite smooth, and entirely destitute of wood. On ascending the high hills beyond Spindar, called Teah Kheré, we had to our left a pretty valley, in which lay the two villages of Teeloki and Mezi, the former belonging to the Coords, and the latter inhabited by forty Nestorian families with a church and Priest. A little farther on we crossed another deep ravine, through which the principal source of the Gomel flows, and close by which is the large village of Khor Depni, until lately peopled by Nestorians; but the Priest having seceded to Rome, all his flock followed his example. This district is very fertile in vineyards, fig, almond, and pomegranate trees. After travelling till sunset, we put up for the night at the Coordish village of Kani Baska.

March 7th.—Set off at half-past 5 A.M., once a rugged road, and in three hours reached Bestava, situated in a narrow vale, with several other Chaldean villages, which like that of Khor Depni were until within the last few years inhabited by Nestorians. One hour more brought us to the Geli-oot-Tirsh, a long and difficult pass leading through the Teah Mezuriyeh range. At the head of the pass we observed the remains of a deserted village, amidst the ruins of which, the almond trees were blossoming, and the vines were putting forth their early leaves apparently without an owner. After travelling three hours more we reached the pretty Coordish village of Shkeftendiah, the (Kathandiyah of Mr. Ainsworth,) situated in a valley which gives off several glens, that to our right leading to Sheikh Adi, the sacred shrine of the Yezeedees, a detailed description

of which has already been laid before the reader. Thither we bent our steps, and it was about noon when we found ourselves enjoying the shade and beauty of this romantic and picturesque retreat. Twelve hours' ride from Sheikh Adi brought us back to Mosul and to our friends in safety, after an absence of eighteen days.

CHAPTER XVII.

Original settlement of the Nestorians in Coordistan.—Old form of government among the mountain tribes.—Powers of the Hakkari Emeer.—Nestorian Meleks.—Civil and spiritual authority of the Patriarch.—Patriarchal revenue.—Investiture of the Hakkari Emeer by the Porte.—His consequent treatment of the Christians.—Turkish politics in Coordistan.—The growth of dissensions among the Nestorians.—They attempt to depose Noorallah Beg.—Burning of the Patriarch's residence by the latter.—Divisions increase among the Nestorians.—The Patriarch appeals to the Pasha of Mosul.—Confederacy of Coordish chiefs against the Nestorians.

I SHALL now proceed to lay before my readers some account of the political condition of the Coordish and Nestorian tribes inhabiting central Coordistan, and shall endeavour to trace the origin and progress of those internal dissensions among them which in 1843 led to the massacre of the unfortunate Christians. I beg to premise, however, that such notices in the following narrative as tend to attach any blame to the Nestorians were unknown to me previous to my second visit to the Tyari in 1850, when I learned from authentic sources how far their own intestine quarrels had contributed to their slaughter and downfall.

It is difficult at this distance of time, and deprived as we are of any authentic records of that period, to decide with absolute certainty when the Nestorians first took up their abode in that part of ancient Assyria which we now call Central Coordistan. The present descendants of the early settlers know nothing on the subject, and would as readily, I believe, answer a leading question to that effect, and say that their forefathers came from China, as they told Dr. Grant that they had originally been driven from Palestine. Mr. Layard's account agrees with the common tradition preserved among the more intelligent people

of the plains, which makes their settlement in the mountains consequent upon the tyranny and oppression exercised towards the Christians of Media and Persia by the sanguinary Tatars. —"After the fall of the Caliphs, the power of the Chaldean [Nestorian] Patriarch in the East rapidly declined. The sect endured persecution from the Tatar sovereigns, and had to contend against even more formidable rivals in the [Roman] Catholic missionaries, who now began to spread themselves over Asia. The first great persecution of the Chaldeans [Nestorians] appears to have taken place during the reign of Kassan, the son of Arghoun, the grandson of Hulaku. But it is to the merciless Tamerlane that their reduction to a few wanderers in the provinces of Assyria must be attributed. He followed them with relentless fury, destroyed their churches, and put to the sword all who were unable to escape to the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Coordish mountains."* This would bring down the arrival of the Nestorian colonies in Coordistan to the middle of the fourteenth century, and I am strongly inclined to believe that previous to that period there were no Christians inhabiting that district. Had it been otherwise we should certainly find some account of them in the more ancient histories of this sect; but among the many catalogues of Nestorian bishoprics still extant there is not one mentioned which answers to any of those now existing in Coordistan proper. Moreover there are no architectural or other monumental records in the mountains which argue in their behalf a greater antiquity of residence than the period generally assigned to them. From the 14th century we may reckon the decay of the literature of the Nestorians, and this circumstance, while it goes to establish that era as the true date of their flight into Coordistan, accounts also for the fact that no author of any repute is known to have sprung up among them.

Thus thrown into the centre of Coordistan, which at that time we can conceive to have been but thinly populated, their own prowess, added to the natural strength of the mountain fastnesses which they occupied, would soon gain for the Nestorians the respect if not the fear of the Coordish tribes. The country

* Nineveh and its Remains, Vol. I. p. 256.

itself seems to have had no recognized master, and up to the present day the boundary between Persia and Turkey running through Coordistan is a *quæstio vexata* which Great Britain and Russia have interposed to decide, and a commission appointed by these two powers is actually engaged in settling the difficulty. These rival claims have no doubt tended to secure to the mountaineers generally their political freedom, whilst the occasional efforts which have been made by the two courts to bring the Coordish chiefs into subjection, have led the latter to unite themselves more closely with their Nestorian neighbours, and to avail themselves of their support in repelling any attempt to rob them of their freedom.

The above account agrees with the traditions prevalent in the mountains, and is confirmed by what is actually known of the form of government which prevailed in this part of Coordistan until within the last few years. The Emeer of Hakkari has been for ages the presiding chief, and the predecessors of Noorallah Beg granted to the Nestorians the rights of clanship, which freed them from tribute, and gave them a voice in the election of the Emeer,* and in all the councils of the tribes, on condition that they supplied a certain contingent of armed men for the common defence of the state. All the villages of Tyari enjoyed these privileges with the exception of Asheetha, Zaweetha, and Minyanish, from which the Emeer claimed a regular yearly tribute. Besides this he exacted from these three villages, as well as from all the other Nestorian provinces of central Coordistan *Kharaj*, a kind of humiliation tax, the same as is annually levied by the Turks from all the Christians of the empire. Some villages, like that of Serspeedho in Lower Tyari, purchased immunity from tribute by the payment of 13,000 piastres (about £120,) for which sum they were admitted to all the rights and privileges of clansmen. When in want of their assistance the Emeer generally abstained from levying the *Kharaj* upon the Nestorians, but when he foresaw no immediate need of their help, he exacted from them as much as policy suggested, lest by

* The dignity of Emeer of Hakkari is hereditary in one family, but the choice of the individual who shall assume it belongs to the tribes, who can depose their chief, and substitute a relative in his stead. The same is true of the Emeer of the Yezeedees.

pressing too hard he might raise a resistance which he would have found it difficult to subdue.

In addition to the Emeer the Nestorians had heads of their own, who held under him a dignity nearly allied to that of the old Lairds of the highlands of Scotland, or the Sheikhs of the Bedooeen Arabs. This office, like that of the Emeer, was hereditary, and gave the incumbents certain rights over those villages which were not ranked among the tribes. These chiefs were styled "Meleks," and previous to the outbreak of 1843 the two individuals holding that rank in the Tyari were Melek Barkho of Rawola d'Salabeken, and Melek Ismaeel of Chamba.

The Patriarch had a two-fold authority, in the exercise of which he appears to have been supported by the Hakkari Emeers, until an increasing thirst after power, and a fear lest the Christians might acquire political ascendancy in the mountains, led them to use every effort to undermine it. He was regarded as their spiritual head by all the Nestorians in Persia and Coordistan, and his approbation was sought to sanction any measures of state proposed by the council of the tribes. We have already seen how the present Mar Shimoon exerted this power on the occasion of his visit to Ashcetha, and I shall hereafter record how he headed an army of 3,000 men on a warlike expedition beyond the Tyari country.

The Patriarch, moreover, exercised the functions of a civil magistrate: whenever disputes arose between the Christians and Coords of any of the mountain provinces, the litigants were free to decide before what court they would bring their differences, whether before that of Mar Shimoon or the Emeer. A Nestorian, however, dared not, when cited thereto by a Coordish plaintiff, refuse to appear before the tribunal of the latter, from whose sentence there was no appeal. But he might choose the Emeer as his judge in preference to the Patriarch, even when the defendant was also a Nestorian. It is said, that until within the last few years, such an appeal was of rare occurrence, it being considered a crime for a Christian to go to law with a brother Christian before an unbeliever, which sentiment they justly grounded on the injunction of S. Paul (1 Cor. vi. 1—8). I mention the possible exceptions, how-

ever, in order to show the superior authority which was exercised by the Coordish chiefs.

In former times it was customary for the Patriarch and Emeer to sit in judgment conjointly whenever disputes arose between a Coord and Nestorian; but this custom ceased after the quarrel which took place betwixt the two people, the particulars of which will presently be recorded.

Part of the Patriarchal revenue, like that of the Bishops, is derived from a *Resheeth*, or poll tax, amounting to three pence of our money, which is paid him once in three years by all the Christians of his diocese who have attained to manhood. Besides this, he sometimes commutes with pecuniary fines, to be applied to his own use, the much-dreaded sentence of excommunication, which he passes upon those who are found guilty of any grievous crime, whether committed against the laws of the Church or state. An instance of this occurred just before my arrival at Asheetha: Mar Shimoon had fixed the dowry to be paid to the parents of a bride at 200 piastres (about £2.) A father refused to give his daughter in marriage to one who sought her hand for less than 500 piastres, and was accordingly excommunicated for his disobedience. He bore this sentence for a short time, but finding it intolerable relented, and the culprit was restored to the communion of the Church, and to the society of the villagers, for the sum of 100 piastres. Now although the nature of this punishment is ecclesiastical in its name and origin, yet inasmuch as it was awarded to crimes which in other countries are not taken cognizance of by the ecclesiastical courts, and being inflicted and removed at the will of the Patriarch, proves that he exercised a civil as well as spiritual jurisdiction over all such as submitted to his authority.

Another source of the Patriarch's revenue is derived from the *Gheweeth*, or first-fruits, which the people present every year from the produce of their land to the different churches in his diocese, of which a tenth part is set apart for his private use. This custom, however, does not prevent his receiving directly from the more wealthy, an annual *Gheweeth*, the amount of which is left to the discretion of the donor.

From the above statement, it results that the mountaineers

lived in an almost independent state, the only acknowledgment of subjection which the Emeers rendered to the Porte consisting of a nominal tribute of 300 piastres, which they sometimes paid to the Pashas of Van and Amedia, and in return for which they received a robe of investiture. Noorallah Beg had testified his submission in a similar manner, and was confirmed in the authority exercised by his predecessors. The conquests and ambitious designs of Mohammed Pasha, the chief of Rawandooz, whom the Turks, not being able to reduce by force of arms, decoyed to Constantinople, committed to him the government of his native province, and afterwards gave secret orders that he should be poisoned on his return home, which crime was actually perpetrated at Amâsia, opened the eyes of the Sultan's ministers, and directed their attention to the political condition of Coordistan generally. Bedr Khan Beg received a decoration at their hands, and Noorallah Beg was more fully and formally recognised as the Emeer of the Hakkari districts. Dr. Grant gives the following account of this latter event, which took place in 1839: "I remained ten days at Van, and had repeated interviews with my old friend Noorallah Beg, the Coordish chief, whom I had cured during my memorable visit to Bash-Kala. . . . . It was gratifying to find him still cherishing the friendly feelings with which he welcomed me; but it remains to be seen how valuable his friendship may yet prove. Changes have occurred which have modified his power, and hereafter the traveller through his heretofore lawless country will have less to fear. It is now placed under Turkish jurisdiction: the chief has bartered his independence for an appointment from the Pasha of Erzeroom, and he was returning, an officer of the Porte, to govern his spirited clans whom he had found too restless to control by his single arm. He also foresaw that the extension of European influence, and the consequent changes occurring in the east, might at no distant day wrest his independence and his country from him. He therefore deemed it wise to make such voluntary overtures as would enable him to retain his station as the immediate head of the Hakkari tribes."*

Armed with this new authority, Noorallah Beg soon began

* The Nestorians; or, the Lost Tribes, p. 104.

to trespass beyond the powers of a feudatory chieftain, and feeling that in case of emergency he might call in the support of the Turks, he regarded with comparative unconcern the disaffection which his new measures were creating among the Christians. He now exacted the *Kharaj* from all the Nestorians without distinction, and demanded a yearly tribute from the produce of the landed property belonging to many of the churches. His directions to the Coordish tax gatherers were, that in case of any demur in the payment, they should spread their carpets upon the altars, and otherwise defile the temples of the Nestorians; and so great had become his jealousy of the Patriarch's influence, that he threatened to impose a heavy fine upon such villages as should show him more than common respect. He moreover intrigued with the Meleks, and succeeded in attaching them to his party, chiefly by making over to them that portion of the ecclesiastical revenue which was yearly set apart for the use of the Patriarch.

But there is every reason to believe that the Porte, in thus extending for a time the powers of the Coordish chiefs, entertained the design of finally subjecting them to Ottoman rule. The stratagem had so far succeeded in central Coordistan, that the power of the mountaineers was weakened by the dissensions which soon sprang up among them. In furtherance of this political scheme, the Turkish government in 1841 divided the authority, which until then was almost entirely exercised by Noorallah Beg, between two individuals, giving to the latter the district of Bash-Kala, and to his nephew, Suleiman Beg, that of Julamerk. New intrigues were now secretly set on foot by the rival chiefs, and the latter so far succeeded that an attempt was made about this time by the Nestorians to raise him to the dignity of Emeer, and to depose Noorallah Beg. I shall give the narrative of this project and its results as nearly as possible, in the words of Kash' Audishu and Kasha Kena, of Leezan, who took a prominent part in the village councils: "The Emeer of Hakkari had of late years encroached upon the rights of the Christians, and (whether they were sincere or not God only knows,) the Meleks professed to take part with the people, who had determined, if possible, to exterminate him. Accordingly Meleks Barkho and Ismaeel went to Mar Shimoon,

who was then at a village not far from Leezan, and made known to him their designs. The Patriarch did all in his power to turn them from their purpose, and told them plainly that he would not be an accomplice in the plot. Finding him inexorable, they modified their plan, and proposed, that as Noorallah Beg had rendered himself obnoxious to the Christians of the mountains, he should be deposed, and Suleiman Beg elected in his stead, in which scheme they could rely upon the co-operation of many of their neighbours the Coords. Seeing that they were not to be turned from their purpose, Mar Shimoon chose the lesser of two evils, and promised to become the medium of communicating to Suleiman Beg the result of their conference, which he did shortly after. In the meantime, however, the affair got wind; but as Noorallah could not hope to overcome them by force of arms, he set new intrigues on foot, and fomented dissensions among the principal confederates. Some months passed away without any strike having been made, when the Meleks and Elders came to Kasha Kena and desired him to write and inform the Patriarch that they had decided to fall upon the Emeer within a few days and destroy him,—that the young and old were ready to join them,—that arms had been provided for those who did not possess them,—and that it was now useless for him to attempt to foil them in their project. On the receipt of this letter, Mar Shimoon sent a confidential messenger to Kash' Audishu, calling him to a consultation. 'Thinking that I might be a long time absent,' said the priest in his narrative, 'I took my ass and gun, and accompanied by one of the villagers set off into the Berwari to fetch a load of salt, which I required for the use of my household. While seated at a short distance from the village a Coord accosted me, and inquired what was going on in the mountains. I accordingly related to him what I knew; whereupon, to my great surprise, he told me that the Nestorian elders had visited the Moollah of that same village a few days before, and had got him to write a letter to Noorallah Beg, to the effect that they gave up the person of their Patriarch into his hands, to do with him as he pleased, and that henceforth they recognised him as their only chief, to which letter all affixed their seals. (Whether this was a blind or not to throw the Emeer off his

guard, God only knows.) I went immediately to the Moollah, who assured me that what I had heard was true; so without delay I hurried after Mar Shimoon, who was then at his house at Kochânes. On hearing my report he was at a loss what course to pursue, but finally determined to seek safety in flight, and accordingly set off that same night for Jelu. The night following a party of Noorallah Beg's followers attacked the Patriarchal residence, and burned it with fire. Mar Shimoon remained in Jelu for some months, when a partial reconciliation was effected by Melek Ismaeel, who brought him back to his own house in Dez.' "*

This state of things, however, did not remain stationary for any length of time: some of the principal Nestorians held with the Emeer, whilst others espoused the cause of the Patriarch, who at a loss what to do, applied to the Pasha of Mosul, and made known to him the critical position of his people. The Pasha, as we have already seen, itched to have a finger in the affairs of Coordistan, and intrigued to widen the breach between the two contending parties, in the hope that he himself would eventually succeed to the government of the mountains. I have in my possession the copies of twenty letters which he sent to Mar Shimoon about this time, all of which show the exquisite cunning of his deep-laid schemes. As the Patriarch could not read Arabic or Persian, these letters were translated into Syriac by a Jacobite deacon at Mosul, who presented me with the rough drafts of the same after the Pasha's death.

There can be no doubt, that some fear as to the result of this reference to the Turkish authorities on the part of Mar Shimoon, added to his former jealousy of the Patriarchal influence, instigated the Emeer to strengthen his position so as to be able to crush the Christians at a blow. In order to this, he cultivated the friendship and alliance of all the Coordish chiefs in the neighbourhood, and invited to his court all the disaffected. Ali Beg, who with his brother Hadj Asaad Beg, had created a

* The burning of the residence of the Patriarch, at Kochânes, was the principal cause of the estrangement existing between him and the Emeer on the occasion of my visit to Asheetha, and the fact itself was referred to in the speech of Deacon Ishâk, as has been recorded in a preceding chapter.

rebellion in Mardeen, and were reduced by Resheed Pasha, and who rebelled again after that the government of that town had been entrusted to him by Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, were both refugees in the Hakkari, under the wing of Noorallah Beg. Ismael Pasha, the ex-governor of Amedia, who had an old grudge against the Nestorians, and who afterwards took an active part in the warlike expeditions against them, was also a frequent visitor there. The cause of this enmity on his part deserves to be related. We have already described this chief as the hereditary Pasha of Amedia, who claimed descent from the Abbaside Caliphs, and whose family was consequently held in high veneration by the Coords. In 1832 the chief of Rawandooz, in his campaign into these parts, ejected him from his fortress, and placed a garrison there under the command of Resool Beg, his brother, to whom he made over a large portion of the province of Bahdinân, which he had seized upon and appropriated. In order to regain possession of his inheritance, Ismael Pasha applied to Mar Shimoon for assistance, who, with the consent of Noorallah Beg, headed a force of 3,000 armed Nestorians, many of whom were priests, and led them as far as the village of Ba-Merni, in the Supna. Just before this, the army of Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, had taken the castle of Daoodia, and a messenger was despatched from thence to Mar Shimoon, informing him that it was the intention of the Pasha of Mosul to take Amedia, and consequently, if the Nestorians followed up their design of re-instating Ismael Pasha in the government of the province, they would be fighting against the Osmanlis. On hearing this, the Patriarch sent a reply, to the effect that they never wished to oppose the Sultan's authority, and that as affairs had taken such a turn, he would contrive a scheme to withdraw from the contest. He accordingly informed Ismael Pasha that it was necessary for him and his troops to celebrate Easter at the church of Arâden, a Nestorian village a few miles distance from Ba-Merni, promising to return as soon as the feast was over. In the dead of the night the Nestorian contingent crossed the Tcah Meteenah, and the day following re-entered the Tyari country. Ismael Pasha never forgot this treachery: for a long time after he was kept under surveillance at Mosul, from whence he escaped to Bedr Khan Beg, with whom, and with Noorallah

Beg, he became a joint confederate in all the cruel and sanguinary measures which were afterwards planned and executed upon the unfortunate Nestorians.

Ziner Beg, who had committed so many depredations in the Berwari, and on whose account the Patriarch visited Asheetha, as has already been related, was also a refugee among the Artushi Coords, under the fostering wing of Noorallah Beg.

Fearing to bring down upon themselves the vengeance of the Pasha of Mosul, the Nestorians of Asheetha had listened to the advice of Mar Shimoon, went against this outlaw, and entirely routed his followers. He was afterwards raised to the chief command of Bedr Khan Beg's troops, which he headed in their several attacks upon the Tyari. The circumstance of his having been thwarted and defeated in his designs by the Nestorians, sufficiently accounts for the bitter hatred which he manifested towards them on the occasion of the massacre.

But the most powerful associate of the Hakkari Emeer was Bedr Khan Beg himself. An innate hatred of Christianity, combined with a restless anxiety to prevent as far as possible the extension of Osmanli rule in Coordistan, made this bold and bigoted chieftain a ready confederate against the Nestorians. Had it not been for his powerful co-operation, there is every reason to believe that the attack upon the Tyari would not have been made, or if attempted, would have been successfully met and repulsed by the hardy mountain Christians. I shall now leave these infidel conspirators to ripen their nefarious schemes, whilst I give some further account of our missionary proceedings at Mosul.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Missionary labours at Mosul.—Effects thereof upon the Chaldeans and Jacobites.—Flight of Mar Shimoon and his arrival at Mosul.—His letter to the English Bishops.—Sir Stratford Canning's intervention in behalf of the unfortunate Nestorians and Mr. Rassam's zeal and benevolence in the same cause.—Deceitful conduct of the Turkish authorities towards the Nestorians.—The Nestorians rise against the Coords at Asheetha.—Arrival of liberated captives from Jezeerah.—Appointment of a Turkish commissioner to obtain the release of the captives, &c.—The Romanists attempt to bribe Mar Shimoon.—Intrigues against the Nestorians.—News that our mission is to be withdrawn.—Further account of missionary labours.—The authority of the Church wanted in order to the proper conducting of Eastern missions.—Letters of Mar Shimoon to the English Bishops and the Society for Propagating the Gospel on the withdrawal of our mission.—Death and funeral of the author's mother.

Before leaving for the Tyari country I had begun to fit up a small chapel in my own house for the use of our mission and the few English residents at Mosul, and my first care on my return from the mountains was to see it completed. Here we assembled daily, morning and evening, whilst in every other respect we endeavoured to conform strictly to the injunctions of our ritual. The moral effect of this measure upon the native Christians equalled our expectations. It brought before them in a tangible and unmistakeable form our service and discipline, and numbers who visited the chapel generally left with some remark of this kind: "We now see that what we have been told about the English, of their having no churches, no altar, no Eucharist, and no regularly ordained priesthood, is untrue."

Shortly after my return from the mountains we had associated with us, at the recommendation of the Lord Bishop of London and the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, two Eastern ecclesiastics, Kas Michael Giamala, formerly of the convent of Rabban Hor-

muzd, and Kas Botros Hazaz, ex-superior of one of the convents in Mount Lebanon, the former a Chaldean and the latter a papal Syrian priest, who were refused communion in their own churches on account of their reformed opinions. Kas Michael I found to be a first-rate Syriac scholar, and intimately acquainted with the Chaldean rituals, and Kas Botros was equally well versed in the Arabic and in the Syriac of the papal Syrians and Jacobites. The nature of our further missionary proceedings may be gathered from the following extracts of a report to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, dated Mosul, June 15th, 1843.

"Our united efforts have been more successful than we anticipated: no less than fifty Chaldean families have declared themselves opposed to the Pope's assumed authority over their Church, and to the innovations which have been introduced among them during the last forty years, and these are now importuning us to form them into a separate congregation with Kas Michael as their curate. They do not desire to become proselytes to our Church, to adopt our ritual, or to come under the jurisdiction of our Primate, nor have we sought to induce them to throw off any of those ecclesiastical customs and ceremonies peculiar to their Church and community, acting in this respect in accordance with the principle sanctioned in our Thirty-fourth Article; but what has been added to, or taken from the faith and discipline of their forefathers they wish to expunge and restore, the heresy of Nestorius always excepted. The question now is, whether the Church at home will assist them in carrying out this reform, for without our help they must remain where they are, return back to Rome, or relapse into infidelity, either of which alternatives is greatly to be deprecated. Any attempt to open schools among the Chaldeans, while they remain within the pale of the Roman Church, is out of the question: the Papists here have schools of their own, nor will they here any more than elsewhere allow their children or people to avail themselves of our teaching either through the medium of schools or of books. It remains, therefore, for the Church to decide whether she will sanction our taking the initiatory measures for organizing a community of reformed Chaldeans, such as purchasing a house, fitting up a chapel, and engaging a deacon or

more to assist Kas Michael, as their spiritual necessities may require. In connection with this congregation it should be our care, as it is a measure greatly desired by the well-disposed Chaldeans themselves, to establish a school wherein their children should receive such instruction as may fit them to become useful members in the Church of their forefathers.

"The idea has occurred to me more than once of opening our own chapel to the Chaldean congregation; but there are several reasons arising out of the political condition of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire, as well as the desirableness of making it appear to all that we aim at no final amalgamation of the two Churches, Anglican and Chaldean, or of subjecting any of the Eastern communities to our ecclesiastical obedience, which convince me that such a step would be imprudent, and tend greatly to defeat the object which we have in view.

"I have said little in my former communications respecting the Jacobite Syrians at Mosul; but since the arrival of Kas Botros our intercourse with them has been more frequent. The result, so far, has been a distinct offer on the part of the rector of one of the two parishes into which the town is divided, to receive the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, and to erase from their offices all passages against the orthodox faith and language. Upwards of a hundred families, one priest, and several deacons, are ready to follow the example of their rector when the Church at home shall pledge herself to afford them that assistance which they will require in their new position. In this case there will be no necessity for fitting up a chapel, as the right of the congregation to the parish church will hardly be disputed. . . . . It therefore remains for the Church to authorize us to reconcile these Jacobites, and to give us whatever directions she may deem necessary for our future labours among them.

"I am still in communication with Mar Shimoon, the patriarch of the Nestorians; but such is the present disturbed state of the Christians in the Tyari, occasioned by the late and continued efforts of the Hakkari Emeer to rob them of their little remaining independence, that no fixed plan of operation can be successfully attempted among them, until their political condition is more favourable. We are not inactive, however, with

regard to their interests generally, and are not without hope, if the will of God permit, that our efforts may eventually lead to the restoration of the Nestorians to the Catholic Church of Christ."

Early in the month of May I received a letter from Mar Shimoon, in which he informed me that the combined forces of Bedr Khan Beg and the Hakkari Emeer were about to make war upon the Nestorians, or to attack the Berwari district within the jurisdiction of Mohammed Pasha of Mosul, and to charge them with the invasion. On the 4th of June I received another letter in which the Patriarch thus describes the execution of this long-projected scheme: "If you inquire after our weal, be it known unto you that the Hakkari Emeer, Ismael Pasha, Bedr Khan Beg, and Tatar Khan Agha, the chief of the Artushi Coords, combined against us, and on the great feast of the Ascension made a sudden irruption into our territory, carried off an immense booty in sheep belonging to Melek Ismaeel and other of our people, murdered a number of men, women, and children, cut off their ears and sent them to Bedr Khan Beg. Moreover, we learn that they are preparing for a second onslaught, when they intend to burn, kill, destroy, and if possible, exterminate the Christian race from the mountains. From this you may see that what befel Job has fallen to our lot: our sons and daughters have been slain with the edge of the sword, and our flocks, herds, and property have become the prey of our enemies."

The worst fears of Mar Shimoon of a second attack upon the Christians were soon realized. The combined Coordish forces now advanced from the province of Dez into the Tyari country. Their passage of the Zab was warmly contested; but overpowered by numbers the Nestorians were obliged to give way, and the fierce invaders advanced towards the villages, burning and otherwise destroying whatever came within their reach. As an instance of the revolting barbarity of these infidels, I shall mention the following: The aged mother of Mar Shimoon was seized by them in Dez, and after having practised upon her the most abominable atrocities, they cut her body into two parts and threw it into the Zab, saying the meanwhile: "Go and carry to your son the intelligence that the same fate awaits him." Many women and children were taken captive during

this second onslaught, most of whom were sent to Jezeerah to be sold as slaves, or to be bestowed as presents upon influential Mohammedans. No quarter was given to the men, and there remained no safety for the vanquished but in flight. Numbers fled to the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, whilst others took refuge in the Berwari districts, where an almost similar fate awaited them. Mar Shimoon, accompanied by one of his brothers, two attendants, Kash' Auraha and his family, effected their escape to Mosul, which they reached on the 27th of July. The Patriarch's party were hospitably received by Mr. Rassam into the British Vice Consulate, and the archdeacon and his family became part of our household.

But I cannot better describe the ravages committed by the Coords upon the unfortunate Nestorians, and the appeal made by the Patriarch for help, than by laying before my readers the following copy of a letter written by Mar Shimoon to the Archbishop and Bishops of the English Church, and forwarded by me to his Grace the Primate on the 12th of August, 1843.

"From Mar Shimoon, by the grace of GOD, Patriarch of the Chaldeans in the East, to our most reverend and dearly beloved brethren, the good shepherds, Mar William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Catholicos of England, Mar James, Bishop of London, and all our brethren, the reverend Bishops of the orthodox English Church, the successors of the Apostles, the master builders of the churches, and the confirmers of the true Christian faith—Peace.

"GOD so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten SON, that whosoever believeth in Him should be saved. And this Only-begotten (to whom be worship) has given us an especial precept, saying: A new commandment I give unto you, that ye should love one another. And again: By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, &c. Also when He commenced His Divine ministry, He gave us an example whereunto to conform ourselves, saying: Greater love than this can no man have, than that a man should lay down his life for his friends. And truly, my brethren, love is stronger than death; and we may

well say this, since you have desired to inquire after our state, being prompted to do so by your wishes for the union of spiritual love, which love has been broken off since the fourth century until now through the envy of those who hate what is good, and the malice of the scatterer of CHRIST's flock which our SAVIOUR purchased with His most precious blood. And we may truly say for our own part, that had not the LORD left us a remnant we should have been even as Sodom, and like unto Gomorrah. Yet hath not all this befallen us otherwise than by the Divine permission. And now we may say that the measure is full, and is running over; for, as saith the Divine Apostle: Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound; yet it is not of him that willeth, neither of him that runneth, but of GOD which showeth mercy.

"And now we would briefly describe to you our condition, since you have requested to know the same from us. Be it then known unto you that, by the grace of GOD, we are holding fast the true faith of the Apostles, as it has been transmitted to us by the holy Fathers, and by the general councils; and that until now we have kept ourselves clean from all heretical defilement, having strong hope that we may continue established in this faith until the second coming of the MESSIAH, since we have the promise from the mouth of GOD: Lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world. But you are not ignorant that from the fourth to the end of the seventh century the LORD gave Asia into the hands of the Greeks, and during this interval the country was distracted, and the Church separated into different communities of Chaldeans, Syrians, Greeks, Copts, Armenians, Maronites, and others, and when Islamism was introduced all Christians were oppressed and persecuted, becoming slaves to the Moslems when before they were as the kings of the earth. And in the fierceness of the persecution all the true and orthodox shepherds were destroyed, the colleges and schools abolished; and especially did this evil take place in our Eastern parts, so that knowledge perished therefrom. After this came the ravenous wolves in sheep's clothing, who, having found a seasonable opportunity, began to preach up the papal supremacy, and the universal jurisdiction of Rome. And seventy years ago these wolves came hither also, and have caused the sheep to stray from

the fold, and by their sophistical treachery have they led away the flock, so that they obey not the staff of the true and lawful Shepherd. Nor do these deceivers cease to pervert the right ways of the LORD levelled out for us by the SAVIOUR Himself and His holy Apostles.

"But as we dwell apart from these in a separate country called Tyari, these wolves have not as yet been able to come to us. Such was our condition, remaining in our own country in perfect peace and security, when about three years since persons came to us from the new world called America, and represented themselves to us as true Catholic Christians; but when we became acquainted with their way, we found that they held several errors, since they deny the order of the Priesthood committed to us by our LORD, nor do they receive the œcumenical councils of the Church, nor the true traditions of the holy Fathers, nor the efficacy of the sacraments of salvation, which CHRIST hath bequeathed to His Church, viz. Baptism and the holy Eucharist; on which account we must beware of their working among us. But when your messenger, the pious presbyter George came to us, and delivered into our hands your letters, we were filled with joy when we read their contents, and learned therefrom your spiritual and temporal prosperity. Whereupon we gave thanks to GOD, since before we had thought within ourselves what thought Elijah the prophet, when he said: They have slain Thy prophets, thrown down Thy altars, and I even I only am left; but when we saw that the LORD had reserved to Himself many thousands who had not bent the knee to Baal, and these in the Land of Angels,* we exulted and rejoiced, and gave thanks to the Most High. And we have now given up all others that we may be united with you in brotherhood and true Christian love. And this our confidence was awakened in us, when we became acquainted with your truly evangelical faith, clearly made known to us by your presbyter George. And since he in his praiseworthy and excellent conversation has apprised us of your great love towards us, we would make your brotherhood acquainted with the grievous afflictions which have lately befallen us.

* Mar Shimoon was fond of calling England by this name after I had related to him the paronomasia of Pope Gregory.

"Be it then known unto you, brethren, that during the last two months, the enemies of the truth,—the tyrannical Ishmaelites of Coordistan,—have risen up against us, and have almost put an end to the Christians dwelling in the provinces of Tyari and Dez. They have smitten our priests and deacons with the edge of the sword, and have slain men, women, and children, without distinction, and the remnant, even a great multitude, they have carried away into captivity. Our churches and monasteries, wherein God was wont to be glorified, and His praises resounded at the offering up of the holy Eucharist and the appointed seasons of common prayer, have these infidels razed to the ground; and now, instead of prayer and praise is heard the loud voice of the Hanafites [Mohammedans] uttering blasphemies against the religion of Christ. Not content with the destruction of our churches, they have despoiled them of the holy vessels, the patens, and chalices, with the vestments, which they have defiled, and now our inheritance has passed into the hand of strangers, and our homes to those of infidels. We are orphans and fatherless, our mothers are as widows, our necks are under persecution, we labour and have no rest. We have given the hand to the Hakkari Emeer and the Beg of Jezeerah to be satisfied with bread. Truly our fathers have sinned, and we have borne their iniquities; servants bear rule over us, and there is none to deliver us out of their hand. They have ravished the women in Tyari, and the maids in the villages of Dez; our princes have been hung up by the hand, and the faces of our elders were not honoured; our elders have ceased from the gates, and our young men from their music. The joy of our hearts is gone, and our dances are turned into mourning. The crown is fallen from our heads. Woe unto us that we have sinned! For this our heart is faint, for these things our eyes are dim,—because the mountain of our Zion in Tyari is desolate. Moreover, they have destroyed all our books.

"This being our case, we beseech you to stir up your Christian care and zeal, and to assist us in our poverty by your benevolence and overflowing charity springing out, as it is written, from a cheerful heart, so that we may be enabled to re-build our churches and monasteries, and you will be the praiseworthy means of supporting and preserving our community now persecuted by

the Gentiles, who hate the truth. And if it should please God to grant us through you a safe return to our home and office, we shall be, as it were, drowned in the sea of your bounty, and be enabled to recompense you in any way, since your help will bind us in obligation to you for ever. But the reward of the merciful is with God, nor shall even a cup of cold water be forgotten by Him. On this subject we would repeat to you the words of the righteous Job, saying: Have pity upon us, have pity upon us, ye our friends, and according to your ability help us; for the wise man saith: that the friend is known in adversity. And let this much suffice for your love. Finally, may the Lord Jesus guard and protect you. Amen.

"Written on Friday, the 30th day of Tammooz, in the city of Mosul, in the house of the presbyter George your deputy, in the year of our Lord 1843, and of the Grecian Era 2154, by the weak hands of the sinful presbyter Auraham of Tyari, the servant and archdeacon of Mar Shimoon."

(L. S.)

Sir Stratford Canning having been made acquainted with the untoward condition of the mountain Nestorians, used all his efforts with the Porte to obtain a cessation of hostilities and the immediate release of the captives. Mr. Rassam, on his part, zealously carried out the instructions of his Excellency, by pressing upon the local authorities the duty of preventing any further slaughter, and by doing all in his power to alleviate the distresses of this unfortunate people. Mohammed Pasha, however, refused to interfere, stating that the Coords had acted under orders from the Pasha of Erzeroom. The Pasha of Baghdad, on being applied to on the subject, directed the Pasha of Mosul to demand the slaves from Bedr Khan Beg; this he refused to do, saying that that functionary ought to make the demand himself. Thus the task was shifted from one to the other, while the poor Nestorians were languishing in captivity at Jezeerah. Mr. Rassam himself wrote to Ismael Pasha, whose family was living upon his bounty at Mosul, begging him to intercede for the release of Mar Shimoon's brothers, sister, and two other female relations. The Coord testified his gratitude

in this instance and procured their liberation; but they were not allowed to join the Patriarch. About this time a Nestorian boy and girl were sent as a present by Bedr Khan Beg to the *Kaim Makâm*, or lieutenant governor of Mosul, and the sum of 27,000 piastres to Mohammed Pasha, clearly proving that these functionaries were not averse to receiving a share of the ill-gotten booty. Mr. Rassam strove to procure the liberation of the children, and fearing that he might succeed, the crafty Mohammedan sent them back to Jezeerah. Through the untiring efforts of our excellent ambassador a vizirial letter was now sent to the Pasha of Mosul, directing him to obtain the release of the captives; and Mr. Rassam having called upon him to fulfil the imperial mandate, he flatly denied having received any such order, and manifested the greatest indifference to all the appeals which were made to him on this head.

Let us now turn to notice what was going on in the mountains. The house belonging to the American missionaries at Asheetha had been seized by the invaders, and turned into a fortress by the addition of four turrets and other fortifications.* Ziner Beg was stationed here with a force of 400 Coords, and from this strong position practised the most barbarous cruelties upon the villagers of Tyari. The Nestorians bore his tyranny patiently for some time, but being promised assistance by several Coordish chiefs east of the Great Zab, in the month of October they attacked the garrison, slew twenty of their number, and besieged the remainder for the space of six days. On promising that they would immediately surrender and evacuate the fortress they were supplied with water by the Christians, when suddenly defying their besiegers a fresh conflict succeeded. In the midst of these renewed hostilities a company of 200 cavalry arrived from Bedr Khan Beg, and turned the fortunes of the day. The Nestorians taken by surprise were completely routed, no quarter was given, and men, women, and children fell in one common massacre. The slaughter on this occasion surpassed the former, the village was fired, and three bags of ears were cut off from the wounded, the dying, and the dead, and sent as a trophy to Bedr Khan Beg. While these outrages were being perpetrated

* On their return to the Tyari the Nestorians razed this building to the ground, so that not a vestige of it remains.

upon the Tyari Christians, Mohammed Pasha had a large force stationed at Amedia, waiting, it was said, to take possession of the country should the Nestorians have succeeded in driving out the Coords.

A large number of Nestorians now escaped to Mosul and the surrounding villages. The condition of these unfortunate fugitives was deplorable in the extreme: many of them were almost naked, and all were driven to beg their bread from door to door. Mr. Rassam exerted himself to save them from any annoyance on the part of the Turks, and generously supplied the necessities of a considerable portion of them. The American missionaries took the care of about twenty, whilst, depending upon the charity of our societies, I hired a house and lodged and provided for the wants of from forty to sixty.* My sister, Mrs. Rassam, and Mrs. Badger were industriously engaged in making clothes for the poor women and children, and in otherwise sympathizing with them in their afflictions. The local authorities in the meantime refused any assistance, and continued to manifest the same indifference to the sufferings of the Nestorians.

The renewed hostilities in the mountains having been communicated to Sir S. Canning, fresh orders were sent out by the Porte to the different governors in these districts to obtain the release of the captives. Mohammed Pasha at length acknowledged that he had received orders to that effect, but at the same time had been enjoined to treat the Emeer of Buhtân with great lenity. About the middle of December he despatched the *Kaim Makâm* to Jezeerah on this mission, and sent by him a horse and silver trappings as a present to Bedr Khan Beg. A month after this forty-five captives, chiefly young women and children of both sexes were floated down on a raft to Mosul and brought to the British Vice-Consulate, where as many as two hundred Nestorians had assembled, all anxious to recognize the fond face of some dear relative of whose fate they were doubtful.

* I record with thankfulness the response of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to my appeal. From the end of July, 1843, to the end of April, 1843, we had under our care from ten to sixty liberated and refugee Nestorians, including the Patriarch's archdeacon and family, for whom we provided clothing and daily food. Towards covering the expense of their maintenance, the Society honoured my bills to the amount of £121. 10*s*. 5*d*. The late Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem also contributed £5. to the same object.

It was a heart-rending scene which will never pass from my memory. Here a husband embraced his lost wife, there another heard that the partner of his bosom was still a slave; children ran to the arms of their mothers who wept over them with a parent's joy, whilst others heard the sad tidings that their offspring had been either sold, or slain by the hands of the infidels, or had thrown themselves into the Tigris to escape dishonour. A few little ones stood alone in the crowd whom no one seemed to claim: there were three sweet children among these who alternately wept and laughed as they saw those around them sad or joyful. Their tender age, their winning simplicity, their innocent unconsciousness, softened the hearts of several Mohammedan spectators, and I saw more than one shed tears over the fate of these unfortunate Christians. Two of the children, named Gool Yama and Rendi (the "flower of the sea" and "pretty,") became part of our own household, whilst my sister took charge of the third. Some of the remainder were added to those for whom we had already provided a separate dwelling, and the rest were taken by Mr. Rassam, who now hired a spacious Khan for their accommodation.

There still remained upwards of a hundred captives at Jezeerah, but these Bedr Khan Beg refused to surrender, on the ground that they had either become private property by purchase, or had embraced Islamism. Many more were scattered about in many parts, and were reclaimed by the unwearied exertions of Mr. Rassam, who despatched agents on this errand all over the country, so that by the end of January, he had procured the release of more than sixty Nestorians. In February 1844, Kemal Effendi, a Turkish commissioner appointed by the Porte, reached Mosul, and was soon after followed by Mr. R. Stevens, then Vice-Consul of Samsoon, who was directed to co-operate with him in obtaining the liberation of the captives, and in such other measures as might tend to the safety of the Nestorians in the mountains. Kemal Effendi had an interview with Bedr Khan Beg and obtained the release of forty or fifty captives; but it was evident from the after proceedings of this commission that the Turkish government was averse to any coercive or strong measures being adopted against this formidable chieftain. Notwithstanding the presence of Kemal Effendi

at Mosul, the Nestorians of the mountains were still persecuted by the Coords, whilst the refuges in the city and surrounding villages were harassed by the Romish missionaries, who used the most questionable means to draw them over to their creed. A large sum of money, understood to have been sent by the French Ambassador at Constantinople, to relieve the wants of the fugitives, was placed in the hands of the priests, who distributed the alms at the church doors, in order to induce the Nestorians to frequent their services. Even Mar Shimoon was tempted in this way, and two agents were sent to him by Mar Zeyya, the Chaldean Patriarch, while he was at my house, and during my absence, who offered, on the part of their employer, that he would abdicate his dignity in favour of Mar Shimoon, and give him the jurisdiction over all the Chaldeans, and a sum of £800, if he consented to submit to the see of Rome. Moreover it was proposed by the papal party, that the government should be solicited to settle the Nestorians in the plains, and French agency strongly abetted a scheme which promised to bring this ancient community more within the reach of the political influence of the one and the ecclesiastical control of the other. Intrigues such as these were rife at this time; but so far as my information extends scarcely one proselyte was permanently added to the ranks of the Chaldeans during the sojourn of the Nestorians at Mosul.*

In order not to break the thread of the narrative, I have brought down the above summary of the Nestorian affairs, consequent upon their invasion by the Coords, to the time of our departure from Mosul early in May, and shall now retrace my steps to resume the account of our missionary proceedings up to that period. As I consider it more satisfactory to do this by quotations from our reports to the Gospel Propagation Society, the reader must pardon any repetition which this plan may entail.

In the month of August, we received a letter from the Com-

* I had almost forgotten to mention here the sum of £200 sent by Sir S. Canning, in the month of March, for the relief of the Nestorians. This seasonable aid enabled Mr. Rassam to afford increased assistance to the sufferers, which he continued to do for many months, from his own resources, after this liberal donation was expended.

mittee, after they had read our two first communications, to the effect, that the Society declined acceding to our propositions, first, for want of funds, and secondly, because they never contemplated a permanent mission at Mosul. In consequence of this intimation, I forwarded to the Society another report, dated 23rd September, 1843, from which I extract the following :

"What effect the statement contained in my reports respecting our labours hitherto, and the means which we have put into operation for carrying out the spirit of our instructions, may have in leading the Church at home to prolong the residence of her agents here, to extend her original intentions towards the Christian communities in this region, or to withdraw them altogether, I hope you will not fail to communicate the same to us whenever she shall have passed her decision on the subject. In my former letters, I have given a full account of our proceedings; but it may not be out of place to recapitulate what we have done, and are still doing, in order that the Church may be the better able to judge what course it would be most expedient for us to pursue under the existing circumstances of the Christians to whom we are sent.*

"In the first place, we have endeavoured to the utmost of our power, to redeem the honour and orthodoxy of our holy Church from the wicked aspersions of her enemies, and the combined and almost equally baneful influence of schismatics, who, by identifying themselves and the irregular efforts of their respective societies with the Church of England, have led the Eastern Christians generally to consider her a promiscuous assembly of individuals, bearing indeed the Christian name, but divided into numberless sects, each holding an independent Creed, and acknowledging no other than human authority,—without any

* I never felt more strongly the want of a competent authority to refer to, in questions relating to interference with the Eastern communities generally, than during the continuance of our mission. I was fully alive to the fact, that many subjects propounded in my reports could not be validly decided upon by the Society to which they were addressed, and hence I invoked "The Church," which really exists among us, but now unfortunately deprived of her legitimate action in such matters. Until she resumes that authority which CHRIST Himself imparted to her, but which man has filched from her for a time, the Church of England will not be instrumental in conferring any lasting benefit upon the ancient churches of the East.

uniform liturgy, ritual, or discipline. This we have done by seeking opportunities to make known the doctrine and apostolical order of our Church, wherever we have travelled, and by opening our house at all times to the numerous visitors who frequent it from the town and country, and by distributing many copies of our Book of Common Prayer in Arabic to such as have asked for them. But the most effectual means to this end has been the opening of our little chapel, wherein we have carried out into practice the excellent order of our services. The daily matins and vespers, and the weekly celebration of the holy Eucharist, with a rigid observance of our festivals and fasts, have done more to make known the spirit of our Church than any other measure that could have been adopted. Numbers from the town and villages, have been present on various occasions, and since the unfortunate massacre, Mar Shimoon and many of his people from the mountains have had frequent opportunities of witnessing our order, and of commending it as true, primitive, and apostolical. . . . . We have moreover distributed seven of the nine cases of the Holy Scriptures which we brought out with us, besides supplying schools and many private individuals with elementary treatises printed at the press of the Church Missionary Society at Malta.

"These efforts on our part have tended greatly to strengthen that portion of the Chaldean community who desire to restore the independence of their Church; but not having been confined to any particular denomination of Christians, they have had also a more general effect in weakening the hold which Rome has acquired over the greater portion of the Christian population in these districts.

"Agreeably with our instructions I very early entered into correspondence with Mutran Elîa of Alkôsh, the rightful successor to the Chaldean patriarchate according to the custom prevalent among the Nestorians, and by him we were encouraged to labour among his people, while he for the present declined taking any active part toward recovering his rights, or of openly co-operating with us. . . . But a great difficulty exists against any attempt to restore the patriarchal dignity to the old line, a difficulty arising out of the personal character of Mutran Elîa himself, which has proved a great source of discouragement

to those who really desire that the Church should be freed from the Papal jurisdiction and restored to its original purity (Nestorianism always excepted) and independence. I have already given you an epitome of Mutran Elîa's early history, his embracing Nestorianism, and return to Popery, and the indifference with which he is treated by the ruling Papal party. Since exerting ourselves so much for his advancement and the freedom of his people, I have had several interviews with him, but find him so timid and supine that we almost despair of his ever coming forward to claim the patriarchate. He is naturally wanting in moral courage, and the ill-treatment which he and his family have received from the Papal party has rendered him doubly so. . . . All this while he is opposed to the encroachments of Rome, and I believe sincerely desirous that his people should be freed from its yoke, yet with all this no further effort can be made on his behalf unless he will come forward and act for himself. Whereas, on the one hand, his timidity and hesitancy have seriously affected the courage and cooled the zeal wherewith he would otherwise have been supported by a good portion of the Chaldean community; on the other, it has served to encourage the Romanists to greater assumptions and inspired them with a determination to put down, if possible, the spirit of reform manifested among the people at any cost. On this account it is that many who consort with us have had their taxes doubled, and have suffered other losses and indignities, for which they can expect no redress while the Papal party among the Chaldeans is recognised by the government as *the Chaldean Church.*

"The Church will at once perceive the difficulty in which we are placed by these circumstances: a difficulty which has hitherto prevented us from making any more direct efforts among the Chaldeans until we receive directions from home, or until by the providence of God the way shall be made plain and open for our further interference. I am persuaded that the Church would hardly sanction any ulterior measures which we might use to raise an individual, so little to be depended upon and so little respected by the generality of the Chaldeans, as Mutran Elîa, to the patriarchal dignity; nor do I believe that she would approve of any attempt on our part to create a schism by drawing over

a number from their present spiritual rulers for the purpose of forming them into a distinct community. Besides the irregularity of such a proceeding, there are political difficulties in the way of its accomplishment which would render any means to this end abortive.*

"In connection with the Nestorians of Tyari we have also been labouring, with the sanction and co-operation of Mar Shimoon, among those who still people many villages in the province of Bahdinân. Kasha Mendu of Amedia has been engaged by us for some time in teaching the few Nestorian children in that town. Kasha Narsi, the priest of Inishk, in the valley of the Supna, who went over to Rome two years ago and had been followed by all the villagers, has since repented, and is now engaged by us in instructing his people and their children in the orthodox faith. Priest Gheorghees of Ashectha, who accompanied Mar Shimoon in his flight to Mosul, has been sent by me to the village of Musakan, in Upper Berwari, to take the care of the refugees from Tyari who have peopled it. He is also engaged to teach the children, and does occasional duty in one or two neighbouring villages which are destitute of clergy. He took with him letters from the Patriarch to Mar Yeshua-yau of Doori, the Bishop of the diocese in which Musakan is situated, requesting him to sanction the appointment. Having lately heard of several villages near Akra, who still maintained their ancient creed, and refused to submit to Mutran Yoosef, the Chaldean Bishop of Alkôsh, we sent Kas Stephân, a Chaldean priest favourable to reform, with letters from Mar Shimoon to visit in that direction. He found the villages ten in number,

* I ought to have mentioned before, that our efforts among the Chaldeans at Mosul were sanctioned by Mutran, sometimes called Mar, Elîa at the outset, since without this notice our proceedings may appear to have been in opposition to our principles. Except by the then dominant party he was generally regarded as the rightful successor to the Chaldean patriarchate, whose claims had been wrongfully set aside by the See of Rome, and was consequently held competent to grant us this licence. It is a matter for thankfulness, however, that no decided measures were taken to establish him in that dignity, not only because of the supineness of his character, but chiefly because I afterwards found, what will be more fully shown in the succeeding volume of this work, that the hereditary succession to the patriarchal office was an innovation on the more ancient custom and discipline among the Nestorians and in direct opposition to their recognised canons.

but in a very destitute state, chiefly owing to the exactions of the local government. Mutran Yoosef happened to be there at the time on his annual visitation to collect tithe, and was exerting his influence to bring these Nestorians into the bosom of the Church of Rome. He had succeeded with one village, but the remainder had sent in assurances of their obedience to Mar Shimoon, and begged that he would not fail speedily to consecrate a Bishop to watch over their spiritual interests. . . .

"The above is a summary of our operations among the Chaldeans and Nestorians since our arrival here, and I beg that the Church will speedily acquaint us whether we have thereby transgressed the spirit of our instructions. If so, however discouraging it may be to those who have begun to look up to her for support and protection, we must forbear, as it will be worse than futile to enter upon measures of general usefulness to the Churches and then have them to be taken advantage of by those who will only turn them against the truth. And I see not how we can continue even as we have begun to any available purpose, unless the Church intends to maintain an agency here for superintending the carrying out of her benevolent designs. For example, of what avail will it be to establish schools in the country unless the Church continues to support and watch over them? The plant thus sown must be watered, or it will inevitably droop and die for lack of moisture, and this the native Churches have no means of supplying. Should our Church abandon these Churches, there is too much reason to fear that ere long they will fall under the Roman yoke, as the Papal emissaries are as zealous as they are indefatigable, sparing neither men nor money to compass this object. I need not enlarge on the moral evil which would result from such an alternative. Rome has already filled the East with schism, by inculcating doctrines and superstitions which would certainly have been condemned by the Catholic Church as heretical, had they been propounded before the fifth century. And now that she has lost much of her hold upon the West, she is striving in the pangs of dissolution as it were to set up another kingdom in the East, founded on darkness and ignorance, such as she has established in South America, and which it will require more than human power to destroy or even to shake. While the

ancient Nestorian Church exists (and I believe its existence may be prolonged and its life and vigour restored by the blessing of God upon the continued and zealous aid of our Church), Rome will be checked in her onward progress; remove this, and her triumph here will be complete. It is devoutly to be hoped that such will not be the fate of this venerable community, but that God in His mercy will call to mind the indefatigable zeal of many of its early worthies, who, braving the most fiery persecution, preached the Gospel in the extreme East, and bless them for the fathers' sake. We believe that He who has suffered them to decrease can multiply them a hundred fold, and who can tell but that a return on their part to Catholic orthodoxy may not be to them as life from the dead, and that this people may not yet spring up to be a praise in the whole earth? Blessed will that Church be which God shall honour as His instrument in so pious a work, a work which may pave the way for the conversion of the large infidel populations in these regions.

"*The Papal and Jacobite Syrians.*—What efforts we have made with respect to these communities, I have already communicated to your committees. Kas Botros has been very active among them, and I hope with success. We have supplied a great number of the Jacobites with copies of the Syriac, Carshooni, and Arabic Scriptures, and have assisted their schools in various ways, one of which is partly supported by us. Kas Botros is moreover engaged in educating a few of their children in the higher branches of science."

The following is an extract from a later report, dated December 18th, 1843:

"We have now about forty Nestorians at Mosul, for whom we make daily provision, and who are all lodged in a house opposite my own. These are exclusive of the Patriarch, his brother, and immediate attendants, who reside with my brother-in-law the consul, and his archdeacon, the archdeacon's wife, sister, and child, who live at our own table. There are among those under our immediate care, three priests, and eight deacons, with their wives, children, and other relatives. The child-

ren we have already formed into a school of fourteen boys and seven girls, the former superintended by Mr. Fletcher, who also teaches them English, and the latter by Mrs. Badger. A Nestorian priest and deacon are engaged in reading Syriac with them, and another ecclesiastic instructs them from a small catechism which I have lately had translated into the vulgar dialect for that purpose, with the approbation of the Patriarch. The Clergy attend prayers regularly with Mar Shimoon in his private room, and on Sunday our little chapel is crowded with Nestorians, the Patriarch and his clergy being always present at the service, from the commencement to the end of the liturgy, which we celebrate every LORD's day. The Church will at once see, that this estimation of our services by Mar Shimoon paves the way for our ready reception by his people: and I have no doubt, should the will of GOD be so, that if once restored to his country and Patriarchate, future messengers from us will be welcomed by the Nestorians, and their efforts to assist them will be received with joy and gratitude.

"Kash' Auraha, the Patriarch's archdeacon, has made a perfect revision of the [so-called] Syro-Chaldaic Gospels, printed by the London Bible Society, as well as of the Acts and Epistles published by the American Dissenters at Ooroomiah. We have now consequently from his hand a complete exemplar of the New Testament ready for the press. The archdeacon is also assisting me in revising the Syro-Chaldaic Old Testament and Apocrypha, no part of which has ever yet been printed."

About this time we received a letter from the committee of the Gospel Propagation Society, informing us that we might soon expect to be withdrawn from the sphere of our labours. The reasons given for this step were as follows: 1. The want of funds. 2. Because the Society was not prepared to sanction the principle of direct interference with the Eastern Churches.*

* Direct interference on our part with the Christian communities in the east, is doubtless a subject which demands the most serious deliberation before it is attempted, nor can any such action be legitimately decided upon but by the Church. The Greek, or Holy Eastern Church, the Jacobite, Armenian, and Nestorian sects, and the Dissenters therefrom which now acknowledge spiritual obedience to the Roman See, stand in different relations to us, and hence the

3. Because the Society was incapacitated by its charter from engaging permanently in any but colonial missions. We still continued our labours, however, being determined to work

same system of missionary operations cannot consistently be pursued towards all. I think there can be no doubt, that it is the duty of the Church to restore the bodies held to be heretical, even if she is ultimately obliged to resort to individual proselytism. Here, however, the existing communities already formed therefrom, through the efforts of Latin missionaries, and styled severally the "Syrian Catholic," "Armenian Catholic," and "Chaldean" Churches, present an obstacle in our way. These three dissenting bodies have abjured the heresies for which their forefathers were originally excommunicated by the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and so far we may cordially rejoice in what has been done by the Church of Rome; but with their return to orthodoxy, they have either retained or embraced other doctrines which have not indeed been formally condemned by any œcumenical synod, but which are, according to our Articles, repugnant to Holy Writ, and perhaps equally dangerous to the soul's salvation. Are these communities to be regarded as true and lively branches of the Catholic Church, and may we conscientiously and approvingly look on whilst Rome accomplishes her triumph by reducing the whole of these alleged heretical sects to the obedience of the sovereign Pontiff, and to the creed of Pope Pius IV.? I trow not; and I think that our own recognized formularies, as well as the theory of the Church's doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline in the earliest and best ages of her history, will bear me out in regarding the new "Churches" formed in the east by missionaries from Rome as schismatical and hence ought not to be held as sound branches of the Catholic Church. But if so, let them be led, some may say, to join the Holy Eastern Church from which they originally dissented. Most heartily might we sanction such a return and union; but here again another difficulty arises. We ourselves are now separate from that Church, and there may be found to exist doctrinal as well as other differences, which may prevent our re-union thereto for some time to come, greater than exist in the way of a successful attempt to restore the heretical and schismatical eastern sects to the communion of the Catholic Church, by inducing them to abjure what is contrary to Sacred Scriptures in their present doctrines and practices. Moreover, the Greek Church makes no attempt to this end, and is in fact in too low and depressed a condition, spiritually as well as temporally, to make any such effort. And must we forbear to carry out the last command of the Saviour to His Church because another branch of that Church neglects its duty, or is unable to perform it?

I am aware that individual opinion is of little worth in deciding questions of this nature; but I think it will be allowed on all hands, by those who wish to be guided by the spirit of the Gospel, that missionaries generally, but more especially those who are sent to regularly organized Christian communities, ought to bear with them the authority of the Church, whose alone it is to lay down on what principles missionary efforts should be conducted. This subject, in its numerous bearings upon the welfare and prosperity of Christ's kingdom in the world suggests a powerful reason for the re-establishment of our two houses of Convocation.

while the opportunity was given us, and not knowing but that God might open a way for our further sojourn among the Nestorians, of whom I thus wrote in a letter addressed to the Society, dated 28th December, 1843: "My late reports will convince you that much has already been done in paving the way for a rapid regeneration of this people. We have assisted in establishing schools among them in the district south of the Tyari, and have opened communications with most of the clergy in that region. Mar Shimoon, and several of his principal ecclesiastics, have now been with us for six months, and we have daily proofs of his increased attachment to our Church, and of his anxious desire that she should use all her efforts to benefit his people. The late massacre has driven a great number to Mosul, who have not only partaken of our charity, but have received instruction from us, and are now tolerably well acquainted with us as a Church. These still continue here waiting until Mar Shimoon's affairs shall be so far settled as to allow of their return to the mountains with safety. Up to yesterday they numbered eighty-four persons, exclusive of the Patriarch and his immediate attendants, and I am sure it would gratify you to see all these assembled every Sunday morning witnessing our services with the greatest decorum and reverence. The Patriarch and his clergy are always present on these occasions, and from what I have heard it only requires an invitation from me (which, however, I do not feel authorized to give), and Mar Shimoon himself and all his people would gladly receive the Holy Eucharist at our hands.*

"Besides this we have formed the children into two schools, as I have already acquainted your committees, and no less than sixty Nestorians receive daily catechetical instruction in our

* A few weeks afterwards, during divine service, Mar Shimoon requested through Kas Michael to be admitted to communion with us. I begged the priest to inform his Holiness, that it would be irregular for me to receive him under the circumstances of the case, which I endeavoured to explain after the liturgy was ended. This maintenance of discipline had the happiest effect upon the Nestorian clergy generally, and from the discussion which followed I had reason to believe that a right effort on our part would lead this people to remove whatever obstacles prevented the re-establishment of communion betwixt us and them. This disposition of the Nestorians to unite with our Church, will be more fully dwelt upon in the succeeding volume.

little chapel. From these facts you may gather that whenever Mar Shimoon is restored to his patriarchate, we shall have acquired so extensive an influence over this people as will bid fair, through the blessing of God, to open the way for our doing them essential service. Granting, therefore, that for the present we can do but little for the Chaldeans, will the Church of England draw back from the Nestorians just as she has stretched forth the hand to assist them, and that her proffer of assistance has been so eagerly received? What will become of this interesting people under such circumstances I have already stated again and again to your committees, and now repeat that without the special intervention of God, ten years will not elapse before the whole of the Nestorians in Central Coordistan, will acknowledge the jurisdiction and assent to the errors of the Church of Rome."

On hearing that our mission was about to be withdrawn, Mar Shimoon sent the following letter to His Grace the Primate.

"From Mar Shimoon, Patriarch of the Chaldeans, to his beloved brethren in the Lord Mar William, Catholicos of all England, Mar James, Metropolitan of London, and all the worshipful Bishops,—may the Lord preserve them.

"After the kiss of salutation we inform you, beloved brethren, that previous to this present epistle we sent you another to which we are now waiting an answer; may God grant the delay to be for the best. You are undoubtedly acquainted with the combination of misfortunes, calamities, and evils, which we have suffered from the enemies of the Christian faith. These have massacred large numbers of our people, and carried into captivity very many of our women and children. They have burnt and destroyed our villages, our habitations, and our churches, and plundered us of all we possessed, so that the prophecy of Jeremiah has been fulfilled in us: My people have fallen into the hand of the enemy, and there was none to help them; the enemy saw them and laughed at their calamity. They pursued us in the mountains, and in the wilderness did they lay wait for us. Mine eyes are dimmed with tears, my

bowels are troubled, my glory is poured out upon the earth for the destruction of my people; because the women, and children, and sucklings, have been sold as slaves in the towns and villages. The heart of our adversaries, namely the Romanists or Papists, rejoiced when they saw what had befallen us, because we would not give ear to their words when they would have turned us away from our old and righteous path.

"But because that GOD is plenteous in compassion and merciful, and with the temptation maketh a way of escape, He so ordered it that the presbyter George Badger and his colleagues should be in these parts to gather together such as had escaped the edge of the sword, and to provide them with food and clothing. Indeed had it not been for the presbyter just mentioned, and his exertions on our behalf, we know not what would have become of us, for after GOD he has been our supporter and help. May the LORD recompense you abundantly for having sent him unto us.

"We are not as yet delivered out of our troubles and calamities, but have strong hope in the LORD that we shall soon be saved from all our afflictions through the medium of Sir Stratford Canning, who is endued with godly zeal, a noble diligence, and sound policy on our behalf. May the LORD recompense him also for what he has already done for us; for undoubtedly had he not stood in the breach before us our enemies would have destroyed us utterly. The LORD GOD prolong his days, prosper his pious designs, and give him an incorruptible crown in His everlasting kingdom.

"But now our calamity has increased, and the trouble of our heart has been doubled, since we heard that the brethren are thinking to recal the presbyter George Badger to your country,—a measure we never expected, nor did we ever anticipate such a thing from them, especially while it is our lot still to be beaten about by the waves of adversity, and knowing that you are a refuge even for strangers, how much more then for those who are of the household of faith. And now that we have found a little respite, must we lose the chief foundation of our support, and become a prey to our spiritual enemies who mock us for having placed our dependance, after GOD, upon our English brethren, and taunt us by saying: The English only laugh at

you, nor can they give you any assistance, neither do they keep their promises. Moreover I am certain it will be a source of deep regret to you, brethren, should you hear that so ancient a church as ours, viz. the Chaldean Church, is destroyed or broken up into sects; and so much the more because you yourselves have tasted of the cup of divisions in your own country. And shall this also befal our Church after it has continued one for so long, even from ancient time?

"Therefore I entreat you, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you do not reject this our petition, seeing that it is not a great thing with you, that you should continue to us the presbyter George Badger to assist us, and because the whole is for the glory of God and for the welfare of men. Nor can I think that this is a hard matter to a nation holding the true faith, and which sends forth so many messengers among the people and brethren, so that in you is accomplished the saying of the Psalmist: Their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words unto the end of the world. Is it not a small matter to such a nation to give up one person to those who are in so much need of his assistance? Moreover God has said: Call upon Me in the day of trouble and I will deliver thee. We are now in great trouble, and shall our brethren betake themselves far from us? This is contrary to our hope. I therefore entreat you, and not I only but all my bishops, priests, and deacons, nay all my people join with me in the same request, that you will continue the presbyter George Badger to us until our urgent necessity is removed.

"Moreover we would acquaint you that we have made arrangements, when it shall be the Lord's will to deliver us out of our troubles, to open schools for the instruction and education of our people, and to take many other measures for their benefit, such as rebuilding the churches which have been destroyed, and bringing together and establishing the numbers who have been scattered about in Persia, in the mountains, in the plains, and in the villages and cities of the stranger; for great diligence is required to restore things to their former state, nay, but as we hope, even to a better condition.

"And now, brethren, I commit this matter into your hands, and expect an answer from you, that you will leave with us the

presbyter George Badger and his colleagues. This is our great hope; and may the Lord prolong your life, while we in parting repeat a second and a third time the kiss of brotherly salutation.

"Written on Saturday, the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1844, in the town of Mosul, in the house of the presbyter George Badger, by the hand of Kash' Auraha, the archdeacon and servant of Mar Shimoon."

L. S.

In the month of April we received a letter from the Committee of the Gospel Propagation Society informing us that they were obliged to adhere to their former decision, and directing us to return homewards. The feelings of Mar Shimoon on hearing this intelligence I conveyed to the Committee in the following extract from a letter, dated 19th April, 1844.

"It is not for me to offer any opinion on the propriety of the Society's determination to break up the mission to the Nestorians at a moment when our services are so much in request by them. The motives which induced them to do so I have fully explained to Mar Shimoon; but it is very difficult for him to understand the constitution of our Church Societies in England, and therefore I am not able to say, that with all my efforts I have succeeded in removing from his mind the impression that the authorities who commissioned us to offer assistance to his people have broken faith with him, and treated him with marked unkindness."

Before we left Mosul the Patriarch addressed the two following letters to the Bishops of the Church of England and to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

"From Mar Shimoon, Patriarch of the Chaldean Church in the East, to the most holy father Mar William, Catholicos of the Church of England, and to the company of pious fathers and most reverend bishops, peace be with you, from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

"It is now more than a year since your deputy, the well-beloved presbyter George Badger, came to us with a message of peace and offer of assistance from your holy Church. Before the above-named presbyter came to us we knew but little of the glory and greatness of your orthodox Church, our intercourse with the western Churches having been cut off for a great length of time, and all we knew of them was through the medium of the Church of Rome,—that church which through her emissaries has raised up a strange faith and wicked traditions and practices contrary to the apostolical doctrine, which corrupt traditions we abhor. And this Church has been endeavouring within the last century to pervert the right way as found in these regions, and has succeeded in causing to err those who live in the plains from the royal path, and in turning them away from obedience to their lawful shepherds. But since the arrival of your deputy the greatest misfortunes and persecutions have happened to us at the hands of our enemies, with which you are doubtless well acquainted. We have been driven from our homes by the infidels, our houses have been destroyed, our property plundered, our churches razed and desecrated, our old men massacred, and our women and children carried into captivity. In all these afflictions which have befallen us, under the providence of the Most High, your deputy has been after God our chief support and confidence. He has fed those among us who were hungry, and clothed our naked ones, he has collected those of us who were scattered abroad, visited the sick, helped the distressed, and has been all along as a father beloved of his children, and as an esteemed brother loved by all his brethren. We pray God to reward him in our stead for the kindness and bounty which he has manifested towards us; for it is indeed a small matter for us to give him this document as a testimony of all the various good which he has done for us and to us, for night and day he has laboured for our welfare, comforted us in our affliction, and never tired. And not this only, but on our behalf he has opposed our enemies, and like a second Moses has stood in the gap for us, and it is through his exertions that we are not entirely destroyed, and have not been mingled with a strange people.

"Moreover through your deputy we have learned with certainty

that there still remains in the west a holy Church independent and free from the corruptions of the See of Rome, (which is the mother of error,) with a priesthood derived from the Apostles, a right doctrine respecting the holy Sacraments as well as a primitive ritual. All these things we have seen in practice in your deputy the presbyter George Badger, and herein we rejoiced, and do still rejoice and give thanks to God, praying that He may multiply you exceedingly, increase and strengthen your faith, and bless and establish your Church so that it may spread to the four quarters of the world.

"Finally, brethren, accept our sincere thanks for having sent us so esteemed and zealous a son, who though he has been with us for a short season, yet his services have been very valuable. We have good hope, moreover, that you will send him back to us without delay with glad tidings, and in the fulness of the Gospel of Christ, that he may accomplish what he has begun amongst us, through the blessing of our Lord, to whom be glory, and power, and dominion, in His holy Church, now and for evermore. Amen.

"Written on the fourteenth of Nisan, in the town of Mosul, in the year of our Lord 1844, and of the Grecian era 2155, by the hand of the undeserving Auraham."

L. S.

The following epistle is addressed to His Grace the Primate, as the President of the Gospel Propagation Society.

"To the Most Reverend Mar William, Primate of England, and to all others of the holy Society for the Propagation of the living Gospel of Christ,—Mar Shimoon, Patriarch of the Chaldeans in the East, sendeth greeting in the Lord.

"Be it known unto you, dearly beloved brethren, that we begin to write this epistle with a heart full of pain and grief, since, as it appears, our two former letters cannot have reached you because no answer has yet reached us; the Lord grant that the delay may be for the best. But the distressful circum-

stances of our condition constrain us to write to your Holiness yet a third time by the hand of our dearly beloved son the presbyter George Badger, who is about to leave us and go away. There is no need that we should repeat what we have already informed you of respecting the misfortunes and troubles which have happened to us, for our afflictions are now doubled since our request that you would leave with us the above named father until our affairs were settled has not been complied with. And now you have ordered him to depart from this place and to leave us like orphans. One thing, however, consoles us, that our last epistle had not reached when you ordered his departure, and that if it had you would not have sent for him to go to you; for our confidence in you is that you would not leave us alone amidst devouring wolves. But still the affliction which his departure occasions us remains the same, while we continue in the same scattered condition in which we were previously. And be not surprised at this, for you could not have sent us one like-minded to care for our estate and to labour for us night and day. Perhaps you may have imagined that his services have become less necessary because others have been sent to our assistance; but, if this is the case you are mistaken. Verily I say unto you, that without him our affairs cannot be settled as we wish; and thus, if you have one real feeling of brotherly love and affection towards us, listen to our request and permit him to remain with us.

"Now the presbyter is preparing to go to Constantinople where he says you have permitted him to go for a time. It may be God's will that his sojourn there may be to our benefit, and may be the means of bringing about a happy termination to our affairs. We therefore obey and submit. Be it moreover known unto you that we have made him our deputy, that he may recommend what seems fit both for our temporal and spiritual building-up. And this we do wittingly, knowing his sincere affection for us, and his perfect knowledge more than that of any other person of all our affairs. He moreover takes with him two important documents which may be useful in supporting our cause. We therefore beg that you will allow him to remain there sufficient time to settle for us what is requisite, . . . and afterwards we wish that your Holiness will allow him to return

to us, to put in order the things which have been destroyed, and to make straight what has been perverted, through the late misfortunes which have happened to us.

"And again we repeat our supplication that you turn not your face away from our request, which is but a little one, but made to a great people, and a blessed Church. For, behold, the messengers of the Pope are as spies among us, and are using every species of intrigue to get an opportunity of entering into our country, in order to deceive the hearts of the simple, and these come to us without our asking them. And do you wish to go far from us,—you towards whom we have a cordial will? as Isaiah saith: I was found of them that sought me not, I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me; but you neglect those who seek after you. And have you not heard that a cup of cold water given to your Christian brethren in affliction shall never be forgotten of God! Finally we pray to the Lord to pour His heavenly blessing upon your Church, and upon the blessed people who are under your spiritual government in the Lord, that you may spread the knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus, and sow the divine Word, and bring forth fruit thereby, sixty, and a hundred fold, now and for evermore.

"Written at Mosul, the 9th of the month Nisan, in the year of our Lord 1844, and of the Grecian era 2155, by the hand of Kash' Auraha of Ashcetha."

L. S.

The decision of the Committees at home called us to prepare to leave Mosul, but the pain of separating from the scene of our interesting labours was heightened by a domestic affliction, which I should hesitate to introduce here, but for the manifestations of public sympathy which attended it. My mother, who at an advanced age had accompanied my sister, Mrs. Rassam, to this far distant place, was now called to her rest. The news of the approaching departure of her only son weighed upon her spirits, and for some time previous she seemed aware that her dissolution drew nigh. She breathed her last in my arms on the morning of the 28th of April. Her universal charity flowing from simple but fervent piety had won for her the esteem and

regard of a great portion of the Christian population, and of many of the principal Mohammedans of the town—Mar Shimoon especially, who had already been an inmate of the same house for several months, loved her as a parent. Her careful attention to his wants, her anxiety to anticipate all his wishes, and her deep-felt sympathy for his misfortunes, had led him to regard her with no common affection. "She is an English saint," he would often say to my sister or to me; "She is mine and not your mother." When he heard of her death his sorrow was profound, and many tears were shed by the liberated captives and refugees, to whom she had been a bountiful benefactress. Mr. Rassam's relatives at once offered one of their family vaults for her interment, and many of the principal Chaldeans gladly acquiesced in the proposal. But the Latin missionaries interposed, and notwithstanding the united entreaties of many friends obstinately refused to allow one whom they deemed a heretic to be buried in a church over which they claimed jurisdiction. The strong feeling of resentment which such opposition created might have been fatal to their assumed power; but this was no time for angry debates. We wished to bury our dead out of our sight, and knew not where to lay her. The Jacobites spontaneously offered a spot in one of their cemeteries close to the grave of Dr. Grant, who had died a few days previously; but we at length availed ourselves of the generous proposal of Khawaja Tooma, Mr. Rassam's dragoman, and a Romanist Syrian, who, in spite of the protestations of the Latin monks, nobly placed his own family vault in the church of the Holy Virgin at our disposal. (May God reward him and his dead with life everlasting for this act of Christian charity.) It was my own sad duty to lead the funeral procession; the few resident Europeans and two American missionaries paid the departed this token of respect and followed her bier; then came Mar Shimoon, Kash' Auraha his archdeacon, and six Nestorian priests, two Jacobite Bishops and all their clergy, and an Armenian priest, each chanting their respective processional anthems, as the mournful company proceeded to the church. The concourse of Nestorian refugees, native Christians, and Mohammedans, was immense; and all that human sympathy could do to assuage the grief of the bereaved was manifested towards us on

this occasion by a large circle of Eastern friends. The corpse was borne into the body of the church of the Tâhara, where, the chant of the Patriarch and Bishops ended, I read over the remains of my mother the first part of our Burial Service, and then committed it to the ground "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life," when once the number of God's elect is perfected, and His kingdom shall come in all its glory. Most truly may it be said as it was of a mother like-minded: she was one—

"WHO LIVED A SAINTLY LIFE
ABOVE THIS WORLD;
AND, WRAPT IN HEAVENLY LOVE,
FIXED HER WHOLE SOUL ON GOD,
AND FED UPON HIS WORD
IN DEEP COMMUNION:
WHOSE CEASELESS PRAYERS
FILLED UP THE HOURS OF THE DAY;
WHOSE CEASELESS MEDITATIONS
FILLED HER SOUL WITH HIM,
HER SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST,
IN WHOM
HER WASTED BODY RESTS
IN PEACE
AND BLESSED EXPECTATION:
WHOSE DISEMBODIED SPIRIT
DWELLS WITH HIM,
AND SEES HIS FACE;
AND, WITH THE CHURCH TRIUMPHANT,
SWELL THE SONG
OF ENDLESS PRAISE."*

The united part which the Nestorian Patriarch and Jacobite Bishops took on this mournful occasion is perhaps unique in the history of these contending sects since the time of Gregory Bar Hebræus, of whom Gibbon, as already quoted in another place, thus writes: "In his death his funeral was attended by his rival the Nestorian Patriarch, with a train of Greeks and Armenians, who forgot their disputes, and mingled their tears over the grave of an enemy."

"O ye spirits, and souls of the righteous, bless ye the Lord: praise Him, and magnify Him for ever."

* "The Hours," from the Dedication.

CHAPTER XIX.

Departure from Mosul.—Separation from friends.—Journey through the desert of Sinjar.—Albanian guards.—Meeting with the new Pasha of Mosul.—His encounter with Bedr Khan Beg.—Murder of the Jacobite Primate by the latter.—Nisibeen.—Dara, its cemeteries, palace, prison, &c.—Ancient history of.—Mardeen.—Arrival at Diarbekir.

May 2nd, 1844.—Having made the necessary preparations for the journey, Mrs. Badger, Mr. Fletcher, and I, accompanied by my brother-in-law and sister, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, Mar Shimoon, and a large number of native Christians, left the Sinjâr gate at 9 A.M. We all rode together for about five miles, when we dismounted to bid one another farewell. It was a painful parting: we were now leaving behind those who were dear to us by ties of blood, a fond parent's dust, and a sphere of labour, which had not indeed been without its cares, (for what labour is?) but which had also afforded us ample scope for fulfilling the important mission confided to us by the Church. I bade adieu to my dearest friends on earth, whilst the venerable Patriarch stood by sad and sorrowful. I approached to take his hand; the old man threw his arms around me, affectionately pressed both cheeks to mine, whilst the tears chased one another down his anxious face. This was more than I could bear . . . . so mounting our animals, we turned to give our departing friends one more look, and then plunged into the desert.

This road to Mardeen is shorter by two days than the more circuitous route by Jezeerah; but it is seldom traversed in summer owing to the scarcity of water. Before Mohammed Pasha's time it was hardly passable at all on account of the plundering Bedoocen and the Yezeedees of Sinjâr; but the vigorous mea-

sures which he adopted to subdue these freebooters had rendered it so secure, that, to use an eastern phrase, "a man might travel over it with gold upon his head," and fear no molestation. Since the Pasha's death, however, the Arabs had again returned to their inveterate habits of stealing wherever they could, and on this account we availed ourselves of an escort of forty Albanians who were being sent from Mosul to meet the newly-appointed governor. The country is well cultivated for about ten miles from the city gates, the wheat and barley were just coming into ear, the weather was delightful, and at noon we reached Atmeidât, which we found deserted, the villagers having all gone to pasture their flocks among the Jubeilah hills a few miles to the south. We accordingly pitched our tent upon the grass, and after spending a few hours in chatting over the friends we had left behind, prepared to partake of our evening repast. To our surprise it was now told us that the guards expected us to provide food for them also. Not having dreamt of this, we offered them money to return and buy provisions; but they refused. Each had brought a loaf or two in his saddle-bags, and this they said would suffice them for the desert journey. We invited the captain to dine with us, but he declined, on the ground that he did not wish to be taken more care of than his men, who during the three days that they escorted us had nothing else to eat than the scanty fare already mentioned. I scarcely ever saw soldiers behave better: they never uttered a word of complaint, always threw down their cloaks to rest and picketed their horses at a respectful distance from our tent, and took thankfully the present which we distributed among them when we parted company. All this was the more remarkable because they were Arnaoot, or Albanians, whose very name among the orientals is connected with everything that is low, inhuman, and barbarous; and their general conduct, so far as I am acquainted with it, fully justifies the native horror of these mercenaries.

May 3rd.—We started from Atmeidât at half-past 2 A.M. by the light of a bright moon, and after travelling an hour all signs of cultivation ceased; but the ground was now covered with a carpet of thick grass, and decked with innumerable hyacinths, many-coloured anemones, irises, daisies, and a great variety of

other familiar plants, which scattered an exquisite and refreshing fragrance far and wide.

In three hours we passed the ruined village of Dolabiyah, where the Jubeilah range terminates, and at half-past 7 A.M. reached Aboo-Marya. This is a square fortress, lately rebuilt by Mohammed Pasha, and now garrisoned by a single soldier, who bestirred himself to make us comfortable. Under the walls flows a small stream in its course to the Tigris, crossed by a bridge of three arches called Kasé Koopri, by which name the station itself is sometimes known. We remained here till 3 P.M. when we proceeded in a north-westerly direction towards Hegneh, which we reached in four hours. On this part of the road there are several artificial mounds, near which I observed remains of architecture, and an occasional pavement, clearly proving that in by-gone days this district had other inhabitants than the roving Bedoocen. The Sinjâr hills were now on our left, and on our right the snow-capped summits of the Teah Meteenah rose majestically beyond the line of the desert, recalling to my recollection the rugged but picturesque scenery of the Geli Mezurka, and the message which I carried with me when I first crossed it to enter the peaceful valleys of the mountain Nestorians. What scenes of rapine and bloodshed have since then been witnessed there! How mysterious have been the ways of the ALMIGHTY in suffering the infidel Coords to slaughter so many thousands of CHRIST's followers! We may not doubt, however, but that GOD has an exalted end in such dispensations; for

> "Deep in unfathomable mines
> Of never-fading skill,
> He treasures up His bright designs,
> And works His sovereign will.
>
> "His purposes still ripen fast,
> Unfolding every hour;
> The bud may have a bitter taste,
> But sweet will be the flower."

The fort of Hegneh is situated on a *tell*, or mound, beneath which are the remains of a village, and a meagre spring of brackish water. It was formerly farmed by the Gargarè tribe

from the Pashas of Baghdad, who permitted *Báj*, or toll, to be levied here upon all caravans crossing the desert; but not being able to maintain their ground against the incursions of the Shammar Bedoocen, the Gargarè abandoned it, since which time it has fallen into ruin. An inscription on the walls states that the fort was rebuilt by the then governor of Baghdad in A.H. 1212.

May 4th.—We started from Hegneh at half-past five A. M. and at nine o'clock reached Aiwenât, another *tell* with a spring of brackish water, where we found about two hundred tents pitched in readiness to receive Shercef Pasha, who was hourly expected. Here our Albanian guards left us to join the military escort which was encamped here, with two pieces of artillery, waiting the arrival of his Excellency; and the road being now deemed safe, we resumed our journey at 6 P.M., and in a couple of hours passed the Tell-ool-Hawa, famous for having been the scene of an engagement between Sufoog, the Sheikh of the Shammar Arabs, and the Mosulean soldiery, in which Sufoog speared the Turkish commander at the outset, took a cannon from him, and entirely routed his followers. At midnight, we had on our right a cluster of small mounds called Teil Parât, (the "Char Pera" of Ainsworth) or Forty *Paras*, so called from their diminutive size and circular shape. It was here that Colonel Taylor's brother is supposed to have been murdered by the Arabs about fifteen years ago, and our muleteer, who was generally very much averse to fast travelling, bade us urge our animals to their utmost speed as we passed the dreary-looking spot. We cantered the greater part of the way over a level country, the grass sometimes reaching to our waist, and at 3 A.M., stopped at Roomeilât, where we found another military detachment waiting to receive the Pasha. We pitched our tent close to the stream which runs at the foot of the mound, and tried to get a little rest, after our night's journey; but the noise of the straggling bands which ever and anon arrived foretelling the Pasha's approach put any such attempt out of the question. At 7 o'clock we saw his Excellency's suite escorted by about 800 soldiers who followed him in the usual helter-skelter disorder of the irregular Turkish cavalry. A salute was

fired from three pieces of ordnance which had been brought hither from Mosul for that purpose, and the desert was quite enlivened with the military parade, and the gaudy coloured dresses of the Coordish chiefs, who had joined the escort at Teil Agha. From one of these, I learned that a serious outbreak had nearly taken place between Bedr Khan Beg, and Shereef Pasha at that village. It appears that the former had come to meet the new Pasha at Teil Agha with a force of 8,000 horsemen. All went on smoothly until yesterday, when the soldiers who had been ordered from Mosul having reached Roomeilât, and finding that his Excellency was still at Teil Agha, went forward to join him. On the appearance of this troop, and the arrival of his spies, who also communicated to him the intelligence that there were three cannon planted at Roomeilât, Bedr Khan Beg left his tent abruptly, and was just about to leave the encampment with all his followers, when Osman Effendi succeeded in persuading him to dismount, and to return. Shereef Pasha, it is said, gave him a severe reproof for his conduct, and in the afternoon inspected the Coordish troops on foot, having previously dismissed all his attendants. I had a long conversation with his Excellency during the afternoon, when he made many inquiries respecting the Nestorian affairs, and took frequent occasion to style Bedr Khan Beg "a brute." Most truly did this monster deserve the title for his barbarous treatment of the unfortunate Tyari, which had lately been followed up by a fresh persecution of the Jacobite Christians of Jebel-Toor. It has already been mentioned how he forced these poor people to work upon his newly-planned fortifications without pay, and under the lash, since which time he had plundered many of their monasteries, and just before we left Mosul, the news arrived of his having compassed the death of the Jacobite Maphrian (Primate) of Midyât. What immediately instigated him to this atrocious crime does not appear; but it is said, that the deceased Bishop was obnoxious to him, because of his zeal in confirming his people in the Christian faith, and in persuading them to suffer any indignity rather than apostatize, which the Coords were attempting to force them into. According to the current account of this murder, Mutran Abd-ool-Ahd

was ordered by the Mohammedan Mutsellim of Midyât to go to Jezeerah, under the pretext, that the Emeer who had sent a messenger to escort him, wished to see him on business of importance. When they had reached a lonely part of the road, two Coords sprang from an ambush, ripped open the belly of the Bishop with a dagger, and then tied the corpse to the tail of his horse. The heart was cut out by the messenger who carried it to Bedr Khan Beg, as a proof that he had accomplished his mission.

We started from Roomeilât at half-past 4 of the same afternoon, still travelling in a north-westerly direction, and in an hour came up to a large encampment of Cocher, or nomade, Coords, who were pasturing their flocks near the ruins of a large Khan, before which a copious rivulet flows. The course of this stream was towards the south-west, which appears the direction of all the tributaries of this district. At 7 P.M., we reached Teil Agha (Forty Aghas), but found the village nearly deserted, all the Coords having left to seek pasture for their sheep. We pitched our tent on the mound, and listened to the wild songs of a party of soldiers, who were bivouacked in the plain, and who had escorted Shereef Pasha thus far from the town of Mardeen. It was quite cheering to meet again with human habitations, and to behold fields smiling with abundance of wheat and barley, nay, the very blocks of basaltic rock scattered about in this vicinity, were a relief to the monotonous sameness of the desert, notwithstanding its freedom and the sweet perfume of its many-coloured flowers.

May 6th.—We left Teil Agha at 5 A.M. and in five hours and a half reached Haznaoor, which has already been described in the narrative of our route to Mosul. We passed several villages during this day's journey, and a large stream called Suplakh which rises in the Toor mountains a little to the east of Haznaoor. These and many other details of our journey, I have endeavoured to lay down in the map as correctly as possible. Haznaoor, together with the district of Midyât to which it belongs, had just been taken from Bedr Khan Beg, by the new Pasha of Diarbekir, and the Coords were evidently very much chagrined at this change of masters. Wherever we travelled,

we found that the fame of this chieftain was extolled by the Coords, who regarded him almost in the light of a second Mohammed. From what I gathered from the villagers, it appears that he used to send costly presents to the Moollahs in the different provinces under his jurisdiction, to remit the taxes of such as could not pay them, to distribute largesses to the poor, and to give to any Mussulman who had no means of purchasing arms, a sufficient sum to provide himself with a firelock, sword and shield. The general testimony of the Coords is, that he was a man of inflexible integrity, and had never been known to receive a bribe to pervert the ends of justice. If this is really true, I doubt whether the whole Turkish administration could produce a fellow to him. Let it be observed, however, that all this side of his character was exhibited to his co-religionists, and his bounty was confined to them; towards the Christians his bigotry and intolerance led him to act with fiendish malignity, so that when I passed through Jebel Toor, in 1850, many a Jacobite cursed the memory of the tyrant in execrations long and deep, and blessed the individual and the nation that had taken so large an interest in securing his degradation and exile.

We remained a few hours at Haznaoor, and thence travelling over our old route reached Nisibeen on the day following. To our surprise (such restorations being quite out of date in this empire), we found that the bridge over the Jaghjagha had been repaired, i.e. several arches, which were broken down on our first visit, had been rebuilt, whilst the remainder, which were stopped up with stones and rubbish, had been left in their useless condition, and the river continued to force its way through half the space originally intended for its flow. The village also appeared in a more thriving state, owing to the number of Tai Arabs who were encamped in the vicinity.

According to Ainsworth,* it is Colonel Chesney's opinion that the Emperor Trajan obtained the materials for his fleet from the Jebel Toor, and that he descended the Mygdonius, the modern Jaghjagha, into the Khaboor (Chaboras), and thence into the Euphrates. From personal observation, I think there is every reason to believe the wooded mountains of the Toor to be the forest of Nisibis spoken of by Dion Cassius;

* Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, &c., vol. ii. p. 118.

but I doubt whether the Mygdonius (and I have seen it at its greatest height), was ever deep enough for such navigation, and therefore, for this as well as for other reasons, am inclined to agree with Ainsworth, that after taking Arbela, and descending the Tigris, Trajan conducted his fleet into the Euphrates by one of the canals which connect the two rivers, and thence to Babylon.

We started from Nisibeen at 2 P.M., and retraced our old route as far as Kasr Serteka, when we turned to the right with the intention of visiting Dara, which we reached after a journey of four hours. On the following morning we commenced examining the remains of this once famous place, and went first to the cistern, which consists of ten parallel tanks, and is situated at the foot of the hill on which the modern Coordish village stands. The tanks are partly cut in the rock, and raised to the height of 40 ft. by walls of solid masonry; they are each 150 ft. long, and 15 ft. wide. Three out of the ten are destroyed, but the seven remaining reservoirs were partly filled with water, which however is not used by the present villagers, who prefer drinking the water of the stream which runs through the ruins. They are closed in with good arches, which are covered with long stalactites.

We next went to the hill on the south, where several yards of the old wall are still standing, and after careful search, could discover no remains of a second wall, as mentioned by Gibbon in his description of the ancient city. A little beyond, on another eminence, is a large apartment thirty feet square, cut out of the solid rock, and covered with an arched roof, supported by two massive pilasters. This the natives call "Beit el Antari ibn Sheddâd," and is supposed to have served as a granary.

We then bent our steps to the ancient cemeteries, extending along the western side of the town. These are all cut out of the native rock, which appears to have been the principal quarry. I did not count the number, but there are certainly not less than two hundred of these tombs, some sufficiently capacious to form comfortable dwelling-places for several Coordish families, who have encroached upon the tenements of the dead. The entrances are generally arched, and bear long Greek

inscriptions in the uncial character, but so defaced that we could hardly decipher a single word. Some of the tombs were evidently intended to receive two or more bodies; and some are cut into sarcophagi, the groove for the lid still remaining entire. Over several of the entrances is a cross enclosed within a circular line.

But the finest specimen of these cemeteries is a subterranean vault, also cut out of the rock, and measuring sixty feet square. The original entry being stopped up, we were obliged to crawl on our hands and knees through a narrow opening to get into the interior. We now found ourselves on the platform of an upper gallery, extending round three sides of the enclosed space, and divided into a number of compartments intended for tombs. Below this was another gallery, of smaller dimensions, and similarly excavated, all the entrances to the tombs being arched. In one angle of the roof was a funnel six yards square, which is carried through the superincumbent rock to the height of eighty-six feet, gradually tapering to the top, where it measures only four feet square. This was evidently intended to admit air into the subterranean vault. The original entrance was in the surface of the rock, and is decorated with a number of designs emblematical of mortality. In the left compartment is a heap of bones, and a female represented as running away in fear towards an owl perched at some distance from her. Above the arch is another heap of bones, and in the compartment to the right a cypress tree and a cock. There were several Greek epitaphs on the tombs in the interior, but so defaced as to be quite illegible.

There is another vault of smaller dimensions at a short distance from the above, containing niches for eight tombs, and which the natives informed us is connected with the larger cemetery by two underground passages. We essayed to prove the truth of this statement, but finding the passages choked up with rubbish were obliged to abandon the attempt.

Crossing the stream we visited the ruins of a mosque, erected on the site of a more ancient edifice, and chiefly with the materials collected from former buildings. Here we found a number of pillars, which the villagers told us had lately been dug up in the vicinity, but being devoid of chapiters, we could not

determine the order to which they belonged. There are several Arabic inscriptions engraved on the walls of the mosque, but on examination I discovered that these had no reference whatever to the present building, and probably existed before it was turned into a place of worship. A clumsy square minaret has been added to one angle of the enclosure; but like the mosque itself, this is fast tumbling into ruin.

The Kasr, or palace, next claimed our attention, but on reaching the spot where it once stood, we were disappointed at finding little more than the original foundations, marked by lines of massive stones, now standing. A narrow opening in the surface led us to an underground apartment, which the natives call "the prison," and which appears to be co-extensive in dimension with the building which once rose above it. Fifty-six stairs brought us to the bottom of this vault, which measures 120 ft. in height, 60 ft. in length, and 40 ft. in width. Four massive pilasters, left standing when the excavation was made, support the arched roof, and eight buttresses cut in the native rock, extend along two sides of the vault. One angle of the enclosure is occupied by the staircase already mentioned, in the angle opposite is the opening to a subterranean passage, said to extend to beneath the village, whilst in the remaining corners are two narrow cells, which if intended for a place of imprisonment, must soon have proved the graves of the unfortunate victims.

There are two villages standing amidst the ruins of ancient Dara, one containing 40 Armenian, and the other 100 Coordish families. The Christians have a small church and a priest, and are reckoned as belonging to the diocese of Diarbekir. In the evening several of the villagers brought us a few old coins, and on finding that we paid a good price for them, we were soon overwhelmed with similar offers, and succeeded in purchasing a large collection, chiefly Sassanian, Roman, and Saracene of the time of the caliphs. Some of these were afterwards secured from me by the authorities of the British Museum, and I am persuaded that a careful search in this district would bring to light some interesting monuments of antiquity.

The following is Ainsworth's account of this ancient city: "According to Procopius, Dara was built by Anastasius to re-

sist the encroachment of the Persians; but, according to Persian historians, Arsaces Tiridates, the second of that name, after the expulsion of Andragoras, the Syrian lieutenant of Seleucus Callinicus, built the city Kara Dara on the mountain Zapaortenon. Justin also asserts the Persian origin of these ruins, which is further attested by the general character of the sculptures; but the pages of history have recorded, that it often changed hands, and was governed by various princes, and Byzantine sarcophagi are as frequent as Persian sepulchral grots."* It appears to me that the Greeks, (or Romans,) availed themselves of the tombs which existed previous to their occupation of the place, and carved their epitaphs over the entrances to the caves in which the Persians had before buried their dead. This opinion goes to ascribe the foundation of the city to the latter people, and to establish the view taken by Ainsworth.

Gibbon, after Procopius, gives the following description of the ancient city after it had been fortified by Justinian in the fifth century: "The city was surrounded with two walls, and the interval between them, of fifty paces, afforded a retreat to the cattle of the besieged. The inner wall was a monument of strength and beauty: it measured sixty feet from the ground, and the height of the towers was one hundred feet; the loop-holes, from whence an enemy might be annoyed with missile weapons, were small, but numerous: the soldiers were planted along the rampart, under the shelter of double galleries, and a third platform, spacious and secure, was raised on the summit of the towers. The exterior wall appears to have been less lofty, but more solid; and each tower was protected by a quadrangular bulwark. A hard rocky soil resisted the tools of the miners, and on the south-east, where the ground was more tractable, their approach was retarded by a new work, which advanced in the shape of a half-moon. The double and treble ditches were filled with a stream of water; and in the management of the river, the most skilful labour was employed to supply the inhabitants, to distress the besiegers, and to resist the mischiefs of a natural or artificial inundation. Dara continued more than

* Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, &c. vol. ii. p. 117.

sixty years to fulfil the wishes of its founders, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who incessantly complained, that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires."*

In the year 529 Dara was defended by Belisarius, who was accompanied at the time by Procopius his historian, against a force of 40,000 Persians. The protecting garrison amounted to no more than 25,000 Romans, but guided by the superior skill of their commander the victory was complete; "the standard of Persia fell, the *immortals* fled, the infantry threw away their bucklers, and 8,000 of the vanquished were left upon the field of battle." The triumphs of Chosroes a few years after obliged the Romans to consent to the demolition of this important fortress; but the sacrifice was commuted into the payment of eleven thousand pounds of gold, wherewith they purchased an inglorious peace with the Persians, with the additional stipulation that it should never again be made the residence of the general of the east. War having again broken out between the rival empires, Chosroes laid siege to Dara, which he at length reduced after it had obstinately resisted the flower of his army for five months. From the Persians Dara fell into the hands of the Saracens, and has since shared the common fate of the old Roman possessions in Mesopotamia.

We left Dara at 2 P.M., the route conducting us over the rugged sides of the western prolongation of the Toor range, which in this part is quite destitute of wood, and in two hours got into the caravan road. A further ride of ten miles brought us to Mardeen, where we were again hospitably received and entertained by Agha Moorad the Armenian banker. Having already given a description of this town, I shall not weary the reader with any fresh details, except to add, what a semi-eastern medico, dressed in an old Frank coat and Turkish red cap, was anxious that I should communicate to the English faculty, viz. that the neighbourhood of Mardeen is very rich in medicinal herbs, and rare botanical plants. Among the most common, according to my friend's testimony, are the Cicuta, Belladonna, Serpentaria, and Valeriana.

* Decline and Fall, c. 40.

Three days' easy travelling brought us to Diarbekir, where we were welcomed by Khawaja Bedosh, the most respectable Chaldean merchant in the place, to whom we had received letters of recommendation from Mr. Rassam. We remained several days under his hospitable roof, holding constant intercourse with the Christian clergy, for an account of which, as well as for a description of the road between Mardeen and Diarbekir, I must refer my readers to the narrative of our outward journey.

CHAPTER XX.

Departure from Diarbekir.—The Cocher Coords, their habits and peculiarities.—An adventure.—Sewrek.—Jacobites of Gerger Dagh.—A motley party.—Urfah, its antiquities, Syrian and Roman.—Armenian Church and people.—Syrian Church and population.—Job's well.—Grave of S. Ephrem Syrus.—Mohammedans of Urfah.—Seclusion of Christian females.—Produce of the district.—Urfah, the Ur of the Chaldees.—Ancient limit of Chaldea.—The first Chaldeo-Babylonian dynasty.—Glimpse at the past history of Urfah.

May 16*th*.—Left Diarbekir at 7 A.M. through the Mardeen Gate, and after passing through the pretty gardens which cover the valley on the south of the city, ascended the level plain, and travelled towards the northern extremity of Karajah Dagh. In one hour and a half we crossed the Tcarookhia Soo over a bridge of three arches, and following the road, which is here very devious and stony, and frequently intersected by streams which find their way into the Tcarookhia, or Kara Soo, we took shelter at half past 11 A.M. in a Coordish encampment from a threatening storm. We had hardly got off our horses when the rain descended in torrents, and glad indeed were we to find ourselves under so good a shelter as a Coordish tent. That into which we were ushered, and which was in form the same as is in general use among this people, was seventy feet long and twenty-three wide. The material was of thick cloth, made of goats' hair woven in pieces varying from one and a half to two feet wide. This cloth is supported by four upright poles running down the centre, the middle two eight feet and the side ones six feet high. A second row of four upright poles, six feet high, and in a line with the former, runs down the front part of the tent, and a third row, eight feet high and resting upon the base of the middle poles, project diagonally from the ground, completing the scaffolding of the tent. A cord from the top of each

of the centre poles is then tied to those forming the first row, and is carried thence and fastened to a stake on the outside. These ropes serve to support the cloth. A number of other ropes attached to the rim of the tent are secured by stakes in the common manner. The ends of the cloth are now raised about three feet from the earth, which space is sometimes built up with stones, but more generally enclosed with curtains of reeds, neatly and often fantastically woven together with different coloured threads. These serve also for partitions, a tent of the size now described being frequently divided into four separate apartments: one occupied by the men, another by the women, a third with stores, and the fourth with the domestic poultry, lambs, &c.

The dwellers in this encampment, which is called Alkôs, are Cocher, a name given to the nomade Coords, who seldom reside in fixed habitations, but like the Bedooeen roam about from place to place seeking pasture for their flocks. Some few till the soil, but by far the greater proportion procure what they require of the fruits of the earth by bartering the produce of their sheep, such as milk, butter, cheese, and wool, with the inhabitants of the adjacent towns. They exist in great numbers, scattered over the northern parts of Mesopotamia, and are also to be found along the banks of the Hazir and Gomel to the east of Mosul. Many of them retire into the mountain districts during the winter, and return to the plains at the opening of spring. They appear to be a distinct race, and are so regarded by the town and village-dwelling Coords. Like the Arabs they are divided into tribes, and are remarkable for certain peculiarities, a careful investigation of which might result in connecting them with some of the ancient sects of the Magi. Orthodox Mussulmans, who question the religion and safety of the Coords generally on account of their attachment to Ali, look upon the Cocher as little better than infidels or pagans, and there is reason to doubt whether some of them acknowledge the mission of the False Prophet. A branch tribe, who frequent the district about Jezeerah, are suspected, like the Druses of Mount Lebanon, of worshipping a calf and of holding nocturnal assemblies, which are kept secret from all but the initiated. Others called "Shebek" occupy two or three villages in the neighbourhood

of Mosul, and are said to deem it a crime worthy of excommunication for one of their number to refer a dispute to the regularly appointed Mohammedan judges. These have certain festivals of their own, which they commemorate by circular dances, resembling those of the Yezeedees. Another sect, found on the banks of the Hazir behind Jebel Makloob, are charged, like some of the African tribes by Niebuhr, with not restricting the rite of circumcision to the males among them. Another called Be-Juan, which I met with in the vicinity of Nimrood, have a peculiar dialect not intelligible to the Coords generally. The following short vocabulary may assist some philologist in ascertaining the probable source of the different words, several of which I recognise as Persian and Arabic.

Book	Kitâb.	Mountain	Ko.
Dog	Sipé.	Town	Shehr.
House	Yaané.	Come here!	Boyin da.
King	Melek.	Go!	Bilé.
Man	Insân.	Where are you going?	Kan da meli.
Horse	Hesb.	Bring water!	Av héra.
Boy	Awèl.	One	Ikju.
Great	Gawré.	Two	Dué.
Girl	Knatché.	Three	Sé.
Father	Babò.	Four	Tchwàr.
Mother	Da, Daja.	Five	Penj.
Sow	Bia.	Six	Shish.
Fire	Awar.	Seven	Avt.
Water	Av.	Eight	Esht.
Earth	Zimi.	Nine	No.
Heaven	Asmân.	Ten	Da.
River	Jai.	Eleven	Yanzdé.
Ass	Herr.	Twenty	Bizt.
Sword	Shimsher.		

After waiting for two hours in expectation of the baggage-mules, and the guards sent with us by the Pasha of Diarbekir, which had been left in the rear of our party, we began to be uneasy about their fate, and despatched messengers in every direction to learn their whereabouts. We could gain no intelligence of them, the rain continued to descend, and so Mrs. Badger, Mr. Fletcher, and I, together with our Greek servant Georgio, were obliged to avail ourselves of the hospitality of the Cocher for food and bedding. The food was good, and as we

had often before eaten with our fingers, the absence of knives and forks was no privation; but as to the quilts I need only say that we passed a restless night, and did not feel at ease again until we had thoroughly changed our clothes. Hoping, therefore, to get up with the stray caravan, we left the encampment at half-past four in the morning, and in two hours reached the foot of Karajah Dagh, after having repeatedly forded a rivulet which rises here and follows a winding course to the Tcarookhia. The Kara Soo takes its rise farther south, and is another tributary of the Tigris, whilst two or three other streams, springing out of the same mountain, find their way to the Euphrates. We now commenced the rugged ascent, and after crossing a pleasant vale and meadow called Esheg Meidân, watered by a serpentine stream, reached the summit. Here the ground was covered with snow, above which a cluster of beautiful scarlet cypripedia, of an uncommonly large size, reared their gorgeous blossoms. Here we were accosted by four savage looking Coords, mounted on horses and carrying spears in their hands, who stopped to take a minute survey of our party. Finding that we were armed they allowed us to pass without any other molestation than bawling after us to stand. Not feeling inclined to humour them in this instance, we pressed on to a ruined Khan where we had hoped to find our mules and baggage. In this, however, we were disappointed, and on sending to inquire after them at the adjacent village of Kara Bagtcha were not a little vexed to learn that there was not an inhabitant in the place. We were now in a predicament, not knowing whether to return or to go forward, and not having tasted any food since the preceding evening; but this is a slight inconvenience compared to some which travellers in these parts must be content to endure. Whilst on the subject I shall give an instance to the point which occurred on our visit to this same village, on our second journey to Mosul in 1849. It was in the month of November, the weather had been unsettled for several days, and when we left the tent of an Arab who had come to live with the Coords at Kainagh, the clouds threatened a storm. Anxious to lose no time we set off from our resting-place, but had not proceeded far when the rain came down in torrents, the wind rushing through the valley drove it violently into our faces, and though we made every

effort to gallop over the rugged road we were thoroughly drenched ere we reached Kara Bagtcha. The houses in this village are almost subterranean, one narrow passage running through the centre divides every family residence into two wings in which the apartments are ranged one behind the other. The only light admitted comes through a circular orifice in the roof, which serves also for a chimney. Into one of these graves for the living we were ushered, a fire was soon lighted on the ground, and we prepared to change our clothing. It was very difficult to make the Coords understand that Mrs. Badger and I desired to be left alone for a time; they felt that they were masters, and did not like to be ejected notwithstanding our civility. Towards the evening the room was shared by three groups, ourselves at the upper part, our muleteer's servants, and two or three native travellers in the centre, and a calf and sick camel of an immense size at the end opposite our own. The smoke from the fires, as the proprietors said, increased the malady of the camel, and after a long consultation it was decided that the animal should be slaughtered *to prevent its dying*. This decision brought an influx of the interested villagers to witness the ceremony; four or five held the head while another cut the throat just where the creature lay, and the blood was suffered to flow over the apartment much to our disgust and discomfort. The process of flaying next commenced and lasted for a couple of hours, and then a troop of incipient barbarians, each with a knife in his hand, danced round the carcase, uttering the most unearthly yells, and looking like little demons in the glare of the fires. Every now and then one stooped to cut off such parts as he thought most delicate, and I was given to understand that the whole would be consumed by the villagers on the morrow. This amusement continued till after midnight, and no expostulations of ours could induce the urchins to abandon their sport. They were at length tired out, and then condescended to leave us to—sleep, I was about to say, but this would be a mistake; swarms of fleas replaced the annoyance of the young Coords, and we were glad when the day dawned, and called us to pursue our journey.

But to return to our narrative: we continued our route through the valley, which is here rugged in the extreme, and if

an Arab were asked to account for this general feature of the district, he would most probably refer to Solomon and say that the king had employed the genii to collect all the black stones in the Karajah Dagh, and roll them into the plain below. In three hours from the Khan we came in sight of a mound and ruined mill, and on reaching the spot were not a little rejoiced to find the object of our search. Not having seen us diverge from the road to the Cocher encampment, the guards had driven the muleteers onwards, and not suffered them to stop until they had reached their present resting place, a distance of sixteen caravan hours. The poor fellows were dripping wet, as was all our baggage; but the past was soon forgotten in a hearty supper, and the muleteers and guards smoked their pipes, and sung in chorus their wild Coordish songs with as much glee as if nothing had happened.

Towards dusk a man was espied watching our party from some distance, partly concealed in the long grass. This being a deserted district, and rather famous for robbers, the guards took to their fire-arms and prepared for an encounter; but the suspicious individual paused, and then hid himself from our view. The soldiers now rode to the spot, and returned leading with them an unfortunate Christian who had been plundered and well-nigh stripped by the mounted Coords whom we had met near the ruined Khan. On first catching sight of our party he thought we might prove a second edition of his morning adventure, and was attempting to escape when the guards secured him. Shortly after a Beloochistan derweesh walked up to our encampment, and related his tale. He also had been stopped by the Coords, who after examining his wallet, and finding nothing therein but a little bread, returned it and wished him prosperity in his pilgrimage to Mecca. This man had travelled from Beloochistan, his native country, to Muscat, thence to Persia, Baghdad and Mosul, and he was now on his way to join the great Hadj caravan at Damascus. He had not a farthing in his pocket, and all he hoped was to see the tomb of Mohammed and die.

May 18*th*.—Left the mill at 5 A.M. and in an hour passed the village of Kainagh, situated near a mound, then deserted, but since inhabited by a few Coords of the Milliych tribe, and a

solitary Arab family, who gain a scanty livelihood by cultivating rice, which is raised in large quantities in this district. At 10 o'clock we forded a considerable stream running towards the south-west, and then re-ascended the high table-land which stretches southward beyond the Euphrates. The road was still very rugged, and strewed over with volcanic rocks; *tells* were scattered about in every direction, near to which we saw several Coordish villages and encampments. We were within a stone's cast of Sewrek before we were aware of it, the town being situated in a deep hollow. The country in the immediate vicinity is covered with vineyards, from which a tolerable wine is made; the other staple products being wheat, barley, rice, tobacco, and honey. The remains of a fortress are still visible on a mound commanding the town, which from this elevation appears to consist of a few dozen houses, several dwellings being joined together under one roof, as in many of the Coordish villages already described. The town itself, however, contains a population of 500 Mussulman families, with four mosques. The Armenians number 120 houses, with a church and four priests, reckoned within the diocese of Urfah. There are also a few Greek Christians in the town, who are employed as builders; but they have no church or clergy nearer than Diarbekir. Sewrek is reckoned sixteen hours from Semsât, sixteen from Arghana, and forty from Kharpoot; it is considered within the pashalic of the latter place.

From Sewrek we had a good view of the Gerger Dagh, which has already been mentioned as inhabited by Syrian Jacobites. It is situated on the western side of the Euphrates, about twelve hours distant from Sewrek, and Mutran Matta who visited the district to collect money for the Patriarch, informed me that there are no less than sixty Christian villages in this mountain, which are considered as forming a part of the diocese of Kharpoot. He also told me of many other villages peopled by the same community on the banks of the Euphrates between Malatiyah and Semsât (Samosata,) who, according to his account, (and being a Jacobite himself he was not likely to exaggerate their spiritual destitution,) retained little more than the bare name of Christians. The priests were in an equally degraded condition, scarcely knowing how to read the Syriac of their

rituals, and not understanding the meaning of a word of that language. In proof of this the Bishop adduced the case of an ecclesiastic, who, on being asked by him the meaning of Moryo, (Lord, according to the pronunciation of the Jacobites,) replied —water. The people of Gerger form about one-half of the diocese of Kharpoot, the remaining portion, consisting of about forty villages, being scattered about at some distance from that town as far north as Palu on the Euphrates, where I have been told that a Syriac MS. of the New Testament exists, ascribed to the third century.

May 19th.—Having exchanged our Diarbekir guards for five horsemen from Sewrek, we started from that place at 1 P.M. and after fording two or three streams and passing several villages, which will be found noted in the map, we reached Tashlik at half-past five, where we put up for the night. We had now before us in the distance a range of low hills called Karatsh Er-Raha, dividing the level country between Sewrek and Urfah into two plains. On the following morning we set off at 5 A.M., and in three hours reached Kara Joorni, called also Goondi Resh and Kara Goondi. This is a large village situated at the foot of the Karatsh Er-Raha, and inhabited by Milliyeh Coords and a few Yezeedees. These people were most inhospitable, as we also found them on a later visit, and refused us the shelter of their houses. We accordingly pitched our tent by an adjoining stream, and were obliged to be on the alert for fear of being robbed. Not liking to spend a night among such a set of thieves, we started again at 3 P.M., and after travelling for two hours came to a spot where one road turned off to the west, and another towards the south. Our guards finding us determined to pursue the latter, tried to frighten us into acquiescence by recounting several stories of Arab ferocity. The fact was, the fellows were themselves afraid of meeting with the Bedooeen, who had sworn that they would murder any Turk they met in revenge for the treatment which some of them had lately received from the Mutsellim of Sewrek. We now continued our journey through the hills, and at 7 P.M. reached a large Coordish encampment of about 200 tents, where we put up for the night. Immense flocks of sheep were feeding in the rich pasture around, and the Coords readily supplied us with as

much milk as we required. I learned in conversing with them, that there are as many as 700 Yezeedee families scattered among the Coords of this district.

Our party now consisted of a motley group: first ourselves, accompanied by three servants, one a Greek from Athens and two Mosulcans; Mr. Rassam's brother; a black confidential slave sent from Mosul by his master, a rich Mohammedan merchant, to bring back his brother who had been absent for the last fifteen years. The slave, like Eliezer of Damascus appears to be an important personage, and was attended on this occasion by a Coordish servant. Next a young Mardeenlee, returning to his office of pipe-bearer to the Pasha of Aleppo after leave of absence; this gentleman had also a juvenile domestic. A Yezeedee, who was converted to Islamism when Hafiz Pasha subdued the Sinjar tribes. This fellow had joined us in the hope of being allowed to cross the Euphrates at Birejik without a passport. His Mohammedanism seemed to consist in constant repetitions of the *Fateha*, or first chapter of the Koran, and in cursing Melek Taoos, whom he declared to be the Devil. Next a poor Armenian who was fleeing from the tyranny of Bedr Khan Beg to seek a livelihood at Urfah. And lastly our guards, consisting of five horsemen sent with us by Omar Beg of Sewrek, and two Coords from Kara Joorni. These last mentioned individuals were strong lusty fellows, who trudged on foot, keeping pace with our mules, ever and anon laughing at the fears of their mounted companions. Four of these I found to be runaway soldiers from the army of Hafiz Pasha at the famous battle of Nizib. They gloried in their discomfiture and escape, and said as nearly as possible in Turkish:

> "He who fights, and runs away,
> Will live to fight another day."

And so it will be with them to the end of the chapter, for a more cowardly set of poltroons on horseback than the irregular provincial Turkish cavalry I have never seen. Their glee on leaving Kara Joorni, thinking that we were going by the safer road, was only equalled by their sullen disappointment when they found out their mistake. On leaving the village they played off all manner of warlike antics, discharged their pistols, flourished their lances, and tried to unhorse one another, whilst

I feel fully persuaded that the sight of half a dozen Bedoocen would have made them turn their horses' heads and flee for safety to the nearest village.

May 21st.—Left the Coordish encampment at 3 A.M. and travelled in a southerly direction at the foot of the hills already described. The country now began to assume a different aspect: instead of the black volcanic stone of the Diarbekir side, we found ourselves journeying over chalk hills, in which silex was imbedded in great abundance. We had now before us another chain of low mountains running north-east by south-west, and at half-past five passed a village on a mound situated in a well-cultivated valley, overspread with a rich pasturage. Pursuing our former course we reached another Coordish village called Kara Koopri, close to a pretty stream, which we crossed by a good bridge of three arches. At 9 A.M. we entered Urfah by the Semsât gate, and soon found ourselves comfortably lodged under the hospitable roof of Mokdisi Yeshua.

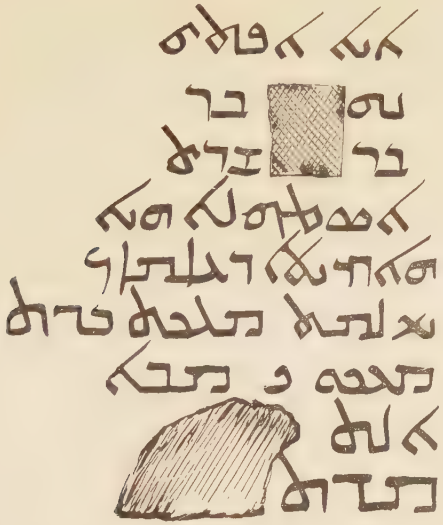
CITADEL OF URFAH.

Urfah is situated on the gentle slope of a hill, and extends into the plain below, which is covered with gardens for ten miles beyond the walls on the east and south-east. A small stream, called the Kara Koyoon, runs along the northern side of the town, and is crossed by three bridges leading severally to the Semsât, Serai, and Yeni Kapoosi, gates; it then turns to the north-east, and flows through the gardens into the open country beyond. The citadel occupies the summit of a hill to the south-west, and connects the turreted wall which extends round the town in an irregular circle. There are two gates besides those already mentioned, the Bâk Kapoosi to the north-east, and the Harrân Kapoosi facing the south. The citadel is of an oblong shape, and is surrounded by a fosse cut in the solid rock, and measuring 90 feet wide and about 250 feet deep. We were admitted by an iron-plated door into the enclosed area, which we found strewed over with heaps of ruins and rubbish. The entrance appears to have been originally defended by three curtains, each containing a strong gate, all commanded by the bastions above, which must have given the garrison great advantage in case of an attack. It is clear, however, that it was not designed to resist artillery, seeing that it is overlooked by several adjacent hills on the south-west and west. The principal Greek or Roman relics are two large marble pillars, raised at a short distance from the gate of the citadel. The shafts consist of several pieces, crowned with Corinthian capitals, and appear to have been once furnished with narrow steps, cut into the body of the pillars, but for what purpose we could not decide. To our great delight we saw on one an inscription in the Estrangheli or old Syriac character, which after some trouble we succeeded in copying; but unfortunately it is so defaced that I have not been able fully to decipher it. Neither the language nor the character is pure Syriac, the former appears to be mixed with Arabic words, and the latter with Hebrew letters. The subjoined is an attempt to translate the original, the true signification of which I shall leave it to the more learned to decide.

*"I Afteh Neh . . . the son of . . . the son of . . . — shert . . . this pillar . . . Hadrianta of the world . . . was surrendered by the queen, the daughter of Maako . . . . ."**

* *Maako* among the Jacobites and Armenians of Urfah means Margaret.

The following is a fac-simile of the engraving on a reduced scale:



The next most prominent relic of antiquity is the débris of a large building, supposed to have been a church; besides which there are a number of foundations consisting of massive stones upon which several modern Saracenic structures have been raised, a few Grecian or Roman arches, fragments of columns, pillars, and friezes, but no accompanying inscription to fix their date. The only perfect edifice is a small mosque built by Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt during his occupation of the place in 1839 and 1840.

The view of the town from the citadel is extremely picturesque: immediately below is the pool of Sheikh Ibraheem, with its adjoining mosque embosomed in a thick and shady grove. The slender minaret of the mosque peers above the lofty cypress trees, and an ancient belfry has been permitted to remain as an index of the original Christian purpose to which the building was consecrated. The pond or pool deserves a particular description. It stands, as I have already stated, at the foot of the castle, and is supplied by several copious springs flowing from the south-west, and running beneath a pretty summer *kioshk* situated at the western extremity of the basin. The basin

measures eighty paces by fifty, and is about five feet deep, with spacious walks extending round three of its sides, the fourth being occupied by the mosque. The pond swarms with fish, which follow the visitors with open mouths, instinctively seeking their accustomed treat. This generally consists of baked peas, of which there are always several venders squatted in the walks, and who are never in want of customers from among the pious Mussulmans. It was amusing to see the scramblings of the finny tribe when a handful of their favourite food was thrown in among them. The Mohammedans hold this reservoir in high veneration, and a heavy punishment would be inflicted upon any person found guilty of purloining from its sacred waters; even should the culprit escape immediate chastisement retributive justice it is averred will certainly follow him, and sooner or later deprive him of his intellect. Notwithstanding these awful sanctions, I was told that the Christians often partake of the forbidden dainty, the fish being easily secured in the streams which flow from the pond through the gardens. They generally cook them with wine sauce, and declare them excellent. The mosque already mentioned is called Khaleel Ibraheem, Abraham the Friend [of God]; or Khaleel oor-Rahmân, the Friend of the Merciful.

We next walked towards the Armenian Church, where we were greeted by the Bishop, Mutran Agop, with a kiss on both cheeks. The church stands in a spacious court, used for a burial place, and is a relic of an ancient Roman edifice. Part of the dome over the sanctuary has been destroyed, and has been built up with a plain wall, resting upon the flat roof of the nave, which is also of modern construction. The interior is divided into three aisles by a double row of Saracenic pilasters. One of the aisles is partitioned off by a trellis-work, and forms the accommodation for the female part of the congregation. Near the altar is a picture of the holy Virgin and Child, encased in a rich silver frame, and believed by some to have been painted by S. Thaddeus of the Seventy. Connected with the church is a commodious episcopal residence, and a good schoolroom where we saw upwards of a hundred children receiving instruction from three clerical teachers. Stones were already brought to rebuild the church, and at the Bishop's request I spent a day in

drawing out a plan for the new building. I have since heard that the church is completed, and is now one of the most superb Christian temples in the East.

There are 1800 Armenian families within the walls of Urfah, and 200 in the village of Garamoosh, about three hours distant from the town. There are eighteen priests in the city alone.

From the Armenian we went to visit the Syrian Jacobite church, which like the former is situated in a spacious court, with a commodious residence for the Bishop and two priests. Here I returned the visit of Mutran Ibraheem, a simple but good hearted old man, who expressed his desire for the extension of education among his people in the strongest terms. The church is a small building dedicated to S. Peter and S. Paul, and contains four altars within the sanctuary. The school comprised from forty to fifty scholars, to whom the present of a case of books, chiefly from the press of the Church Missionary Society at Malta which I had brought with me, proved very acceptable. From the school we went to the new Syrian church which is being built without the city walls for the convenience of the Jacobites who reside in that quarter. The firman for raising this additional place of worship was obtained chiefly through the influence of Mokdisi Yeshua, our host, who is the richest member of the Syrian community here, and has himself defrayed the greater portion of the sum expended in its erection. At our suggestion he altered the original plan of the building, which was to have a part of the interior separated by a railing for the females, and has since added a gallery for the purpose over the western entrance. The Jacobites of Urfah number 180 families with six priests; there are no villages of this community nearer than Gerger Dagh, about two days distant.

On our way to the Oloor Jamesi we called upon the governor, Bahri Ahmet Pasha, who made many inquiries about our steamers and balloons. He is said to be a great reader, and to pay little attention to his official duties, which are confided to the mismanagement of his lieutenant and treasurer. The *serai* in which he resides is large, but poor and in bad repair; in the yard we saw one brass cannon and an old phaeton. The citadel is entirely destitute of artillery.

The mosque called Oloor Jamesi was an old Christian church,

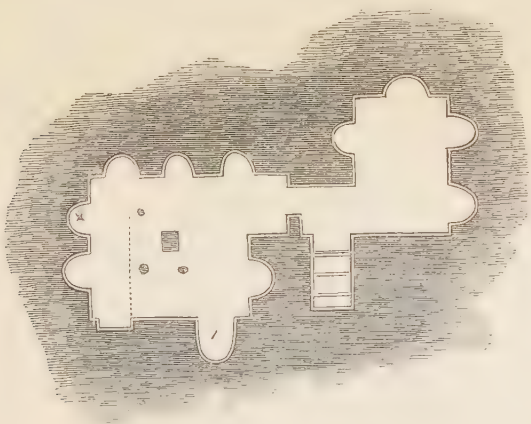
as is evident from the hexangular belfry which is now converted into a minaret, and from the lower parts of the building. As in the case of the Great Mosque at Diarbekir, the nave of the church has been turned into a court-yard, in which a fountain has been introduced for the religious ablutions of the Mussulmans, and the southern wall of the church is now the northern wall of the mosque. The fountain is surmounted by a dome raised upon four Corinthian pillars taken from some more ancient building.

Issuing forth from the Bâk Kapoosi we took a stroll round the city. Directing our course southward we crossed the bridge over the Kara Koyoon, and entered the gardens, in the walls of which we observed many fragments of sculptures and a few very imperfect Greek inscriptions, apparently referable to the Byzantine period. Passing the Harrân gate on our right we walked towards the Bir-Ayyoob (Job's well), connected with which is a Ziyaret, or shrine, held in some repute by the Mussulmans, and tended by a few miserable looking creatures, who obtain a livelihood by begging from the visitors to the sacred enclosure. According to the Mohammedans this was the well from which Job used to drink, while the Christians believe it to be the place where the painter, who had been sent by Abgarus to take a likeness of the Saviour, dropped the napkin whereon Christ had vouchsafed to bestow upon him a miraculous impression of His countenance. The common tradition of this occurrence is as follows: the painter, on receiving the napkin from our blessed Lord, had been directed not to look behind him until he had delivered it into the hands of king Abgarus; but, on arriving at this well, he forgot the injunction, and suddenly the sound of an army in battle so terrified him, that he let fall the napkin on the spot, which was then a dry ditch, and immediately a spring burst forth bearing on its surface the mysterious image. The water of the well is believed both by Mohammedans and Christians to possess a miraculous property for curing certain cutaneous diseases, and mixed with a little clay is frequently sprinkled over fields of wheat and barley infested with a destructive insect very common in these districts.

From the well we walked to another Mohammedan shrine called Sheikh Maksood, situated to the south-west of the citadel,

and built over a grotto said to contain two headless bas-reliefs which we were very anxious to see. To our great disappointment the door was shut, so we proceeded to examine the numerous natural caves in the vicinity, which appears to have been the principal city quarry. In some of these parties of Christians were making *keif*, i.e., taking their pleasure and drinking *arack*. In a few others we observed several open sarcophagi, but no inscriptions whatever.

Descending the hill to the western side of the town we came to a chapel belonging to the Armenians, and dedicated to S. Serghees, but commonly called Khudhr Elias, for the same reason that other Christian temples in the East are so called, viz., to secure to them the toleration and respect of the Mohammedans. There is nothing worth noticing in the chapel, which is situated in an inner court, from whence a descent of four steps leads into a grotto containing four recesses, and opening into an adjoining subterranean cave, the roof of which is supported by four irregularly placed pillars. In this latter are eight tombs, the largest of which is said to cover the remains of S. Ephrem Syrus, and another the ashes of Theodorus, both held in high



1. *Tomb of S. Ephrem Syrus.* 2. *Tomb of Theodorus.*

veneration by the Jacobites and Syrians, who have had many a battle for the exclusive possession of the sacred precincts. Even as late as last year a scuffle ensued between the rival communities, and some hard blows were dealt on both sides before the

quarrel was ended. The use of the cemetery is now understood to be common to both parties, but the Jacobites have the exclusive right of consecrating the holy Eucharist on the grave of S. Ephrem.

Pursuing our walk through the vineyards we reached a beautiful garden on the north-west of the town, in which is a circular fountain called by the Mohammedans Sooleiman Pyâr, but believed by the Christians to be the spring where S. Thaddeus baptized his first converts.

There are 12,000 Mussulman families at Urfah, who are accounted very bigoted, and are extremely overbearing in their conduct towards the native Christians. Many of them are *Hadjis,* i.e. have visited Mecca, and the entrances to the houses of these devotees are gaudily painted with the symbols of their pilgrimage, the begging bowl, flag, truncheon, axe, coffee-pot, pipe, censer, &c. What the serpent is intended to represent I know not. The annexed is a specimen of these designs taken from a house opposite to that inhabited by Mokdisi Yeshua.

HADJI'S HOUSE AT URFAH.

Several impertinent remarks were made by these fanatics as I rode through the streets with Mrs. Badger, whose green veil seemed to excite their prejudices,—green being the sacred colour of Islâm. On account of the frequent insults to which they have been exposed, the Christian females scarcely ever venture abroad except to church, and that not more than once a month. They are moreover confined at home much after the manner of Mohammedan women, and are seldom seen in the domestic circle beyond the limits of their separate apartments. Being a priest I was admitted, in company with Mrs. Badger, into one of these harems, and had an opportunity of judging what were the effects of such seclusion. I found the women excessively ignorant, untidy, and not over clean in their persons or habits. They stared at us with silly amazement, and seemed incapable of comprehending anything that we said to them. Their indoor head-dress is peculiar to this town, consisting of an inverted truncated pyramid, made of silver plate, and measuring about a foot in diameter at the base, hung about with chains

HEADDRESS OF A CHRISTIAN FEMALE AT URFAH.

and other trinkets, over which a kerchief is lightly thrown. In going abroad they substitute for this a species of turban with a deep projection in front, and a capacious *tcerchef* or white sheet, and horse-hair veil, which envelope the whole person. The poorer Mohammedan females of the town and surrounding villages wear a different coiffure, consisting of a square and flat reed-work which rises about a foot above the head, and over this a long *tarboosh* or red cap is drawn, the blue tassel being allowed to hang down in front.

The language most commonly spoken at Urfah is Turkish, Arabic being but little known except by those who trade with the neighbouring Bedoocen. The Christians generally converse together in Armenian, very few of the Syrians being acquainted even with the vulgar dialect of their national tongue. The epistolary correspondence of the Syrians is generally carried on in Turkish expressed in Syriac characters, and they possess a few books written in this style. I procured a Syro-Turkish Psalter during my visit in the hope of getting it published for the benefit of the Jacobite Christians of this district, many of whom expressed a strong desire for elementary and other works prepared after this model.

Since our visit Mokdisi Yeshua, whose guest we were, has been appointed British consular agent at Urfah, and I have been pleased to hear of the assistance which he has frequently rendered to English travellers passing this way. He is a man of great influence among the Syrians generally, and is not only well-disposed towards our Church, but joined with the Bishop in expressing the hope that we would use every endeavour to benefit their community, in which he promised his cordial co-operation. It is my firm belief that had it not been for the care which he exerted to prevent the schism, very many of the Jacobites would have listened to the persuasions of the Latin missionaries, who have lately established themselves here, and have seceded to the Church of Rome.

The staple produce of the district is wool, which is sent from here to Alexandretta and thence shipped to Europe. The town is supplied with wheat and barley from the extensive plain south of the road leading to Birejik which is called Serooj. Rice is brought from about Karajah Dagh; and fuel, of which there

is a great scarcity owing to the want of wood in the neighbourhood, is imported from Sewrek and Room-Kala on the Euphrates.

Urfah, I believe, is generally acknowledged to occupy the site of Ur of the Chaldees, the reputed birth-place of Abraham. It is styled "Urhoi" in all the ancient Syrian MSS., and the remains of a church dedicated to "Mar Yacoob Urhoyo," (S. James of Ur,) are still to be seen on a hill to the south-west of the town. By the Arabs it was called Raha, or Er-Raha, which owes its etymology to the same root, and by which name it is still known to the Bedoocen. This fact, together with the existence of Harrân twenty-five miles to the south, and the plains of Serooj to the north-west, names evidently derived from the patriarchs, the former the brother, and the latter the great grandfather, of Abraham, (see Gen. xi. 22, 27,) go to prove that the whole of this district was comprehended within the limits of ancient Chaldea. It is somewhat singular, moreover, that the Mohammedans have placed the residence of Job in this vicinity, which they evidently do from their tradition attached to the Bir Ayyoob. Job, as we know, dwelt among a people called Sabeans and Chaldeans, (Job i. 15, 17) who destroyed part of his household, and plundered him of his flocks and herds. In connection with this subject it is interesting to find that there are no less than 4,000 Yezeedee families scattered among the 360 Coordish villages of the Serooj, and, as we have already had occasion to state, no less than twice that number in the district between Urfah and Sewrek. The continuance of this sect here, and the connection of some of their doctrines and rites with Sabianism and Magism is another corroborative proof that the whole of this region originally formed a part of the Chaldea of the Bible. It was not my lot to fall in with any of the Yezeedees about Urfah, but I am assured that those near Mosul, the head-quarters of the sect, and the seat of their Sheikh, know little of them; and I am inclined to believe that a careful investigation might result in bringing to light some important differences between the separate communities both as regards language and religion. I deem it not improbable that those of this district have retained in greater purity the doctrines of ancient Sabianism, since according to Gibbon there was a temple

of the moon at Harrân, to which the Sabeans performed frequent pilgrimages as late as the rise of Islamism.*

I think it is clear from the above that the Chaldeans must have existed as a distinct people before the time of Chesed, Nahor's son, (Gen. xxii. 22,) who is regarded by some as the progenitor of the Chasdim or Chaldeans. Ainsworth's idea is that "Chesed only united the scattered tribes of a pre-existing race, or else, by founding a dynasty, created a nation for the land of Ur, which existed in the first years of Abraham, and was only emphatically distinguished by the Hebrews as 'Ur in the land of the Chaldees,' subsequently to the times both of Abraham and Chesed."† This view is confirmed by a passage in the *Lookâté*, the old Syriac MS. referred to in a former chapter, which states that "in the time of Nahor, Terah's father, the books and learning of the Chaldeans, their sorcery and witchcraft, were taken into Egypt."‡ The idea of a Chaldean dynasty, separate from that of Babylon, is also supported by the following additional quotation from the same author: "In his time, [Terah's,] § Hesron [?] his brother warred with Kesrones king of Babel and slew him, and took the empire from Babel. In his time also reigned the first king of the Assyrians, whose name was Boolsan, [or Boolasan,] and he built many cities."‖

* Decline and Fall, chap. l.

† Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldea, p. 154.

‡ If this assertion can be relied on, it settles the question whether the arts and sciences sprang from the Chaldeans or the Egyptians.

§ That Terah was of noble descent, and a person of some consequence in his day, may be gathered from the retinue of his son Abraham, and the respect which was paid him by the kings of Sodom and Salem after he had routed the four confederate kings in the valley of Shaveh. See Genesis xiv.

‖ The above quotations are preceded in the original by the following account of Peleg and Arao or Reu. (Gen. xi. 18, 20.)

"Peleg:—In his days the languages were divided, when men designed to build a tower to reach up to heaven.

"Arao:—In his time the mighty Nimrod rose, the first king of Babel, and in Egypt Panopus, who was called Misraim after the name of Misraim their father. Then men first began to use weapons in war."

If the chronology of the above quotations is correct, the first Chaldeo-Babylonian dynasty began with Nimrod, who was succeeded by Kesrones, contemporary with whom was Boolsan the first king of Assyria. It would be an interesting discovery, if in the attempts which are now being made to read the cuneiform monuments, these names could be identified. Several notices of this kind,

But I fear to pursue such investigations any further, and shall leave the above remarks to the indulgent criticism of the learned. Ur, or Edessa, as it was then called, and the capital of the kingdom of Osrhoene, finally became a part of the Roman Empire in the East under Severus, A.D. 216. At that time the purest Syriac dialect was spoken here, where it has now almost disappeared, except as the language of the Jacobite rituals. Here, also, about a hundred years later flourished the famous school which gave birth to the most celebrated apostles of Nestorianism. Edessa fell into the hands of the Saracens in the eighth century, from whom it was wrested by Baldwin, A.D. 1097. The Crusaders only kept possession for about sixty years, and were expelled in their turn by the Seljukians under Zenghi the prince of the Atabeks of Syria.

gleaned during my translation of the Nestorian rituals, have led me to believe that a thorough examination of the few ancient Syriac MSS. now extant, might throw light upon the first dynasties of Babylonia and Assyria, and be useful in aiding and corroborating the studies of those learned scholars who are engaged in deciphering the long-forgotten records engraved upon the monuments of Nimrood and Koyoonjuk.

CHAPTER XXI.

Visit to the Shammar in the desert.—Reception by Sufoog, the Sheikh of the tribe.—The Arabs rob us, and refuse to let us go.—Movement of the camp.—An affray with the Sayeh tribe.—Start for Harrân.—Description of the ruins.—The Jès Arabs.—Jacob's well.—Return to Urfah.—Character of the Bedooeen.

May 24th.—Hearing that a large force of the Shammar, under Sufoog, was encamped at a short distance from Harrân, we availed ourselves of the escort of Husein, one of the tribe who had been sent to Urfah, on important business, to visit this renowned Arab chieftain. Husein, on learning my relationship to Mr. Rassam, who is a great friend of Sufoog, readily engaged to conduct us to the encampment, on condition that we went unattended by any guards from the local authorities, whose presence, he said, might excite suspicion among the Arabs, and give them the idea that we distrusted their good-will and fidelity. He informed us that the Shammar had come into these parts, at the request of government, to chastise a section of the great Aniza tribe who had lately crossed the Euphrates, joined some rebellious Berazîa Coords in the Serooj, and committed great depredations in that district. The Turks not being able to cope with these wandering marauders themselves, had called upon Sufoog, the recognized Sheikh of the desert east of the Euphrates, to undertake the task. With the assistance of a company of infantry, the Shammar had chased the Aniza back to their haunts, and the Berazîa had laid down their arms, promising obedience for the future.

Mrs. Badger, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Rassam's brother, and I, accompanied by our Greek servant, and an Armenian pedlar, who seized the opportunity to ply his trade among the Arabs,

left the Harrân gate at 10 A.M., preceded by our swarthy guide. Husein was highly pleased to have escaped from the town, and on passing the gardens flourished his master's spear, the token of the trust which had been committed to him, and seemed to snuff up with delight the air of his native desert. The ambassador of the chief of a hundred thousand Arabs was dressed in a long shirt, black with dirt, gathered to his waist by an old sword-belt, and on his head he wore the *agheil* and *agheiliyya* (the coloured kerchief and camel's-hair rope), which form the usual turban of the Bedooeen. We first journeyed to the south-east towards Harrân, but hearing on the road that Sufoog had moved his position, we turned directly south, having on our right the low Urfah hills, at the foot of which the Jès Arabs were encamped. The plain is bounded on the east by a range of hills called Jebel Taktak, running N.N.E. by S.S.W., which seems to join another range called Garamoosh, lying more to the north, in which a large Armenian village of the same name is situated. The plain is inhabited chiefly by Militsh Coords, whose villages are generally built under the shelter of a mound, of which there are a great number in this district. At noon we reached Telles-Sultân, a village of pyramidal clay huts, which from a distance looked like a collection of white ant hillocks. The villagers had left these habitations, and had sought refuge in their tents from the fleas which infest them, especially during spring. A little beyond we called at the tent of Musto, the chief of the Militsh, whose people Sufoog had charged with having stolen half a dozen horses belonging to his tribe. The authorities at Urfah had sent a mounted *kawass*, with two of Sufoog's men, to demand the restoration of the plunder; these were quietly smoking their pipes on the ground, but Musto had decamped. At 2 P.M. all cultivation ceased, and we were now entering the desert, the home of the wild descendants of Ishmael. Meeting an Arab who had just come from Racca, he informed us that Sufoog had again moved to the south-east of Harrân; so we altered our course accordingly, and at 5 P.M. came in sight of the encampment, stretching for about four miles along the western bank of the Jullâb, and surrounded by immense droves of camels, sheep, and horses. Husein rode forward to announce our arrival, and soon returned with the Sheikh's welcome, who

it appears had already been apprised of our intended visit. A small black tent had been pitched for our party, into which I first conducted Mrs. Badger, and then repaired to the large tent, where as many as three hundred of the elders of the tribe were holding a council. On my approach all rose, and Sufoog coming forward saluted me with a shake of the hand, and placed me at his side on a dirty carpet and cushion, the only domestic furniture, with the exception of a hole in the ground for a fire-place, and several rude utensils for roasting, pounding, and making coffee. The Sheikh was clothed in a shirt (not over clean), a cotton gown bound round the waist with a common girdle, over which a coarse *aba*, or cloak, was thrown; the kerchief and camel's-hair rope completed his attire. Although he appeared to welcome us heartily, yet he spoke but little, and confined his first inquiries to the movements of the Turkish army, the entrance of the new Pasha into Mosul, and the probable prospects of Bedr Khan Beg, the fame of whose exploits had reached into the heart of the desert. He looked like a man forty years old, spare made, with black hair, and a short beard, which anxiety rather than age had somewhat whitened. His countenance evinced deep thought, not unmixed with cunning, while his bronzed face and arms bespoke his exposure to the burning sun of the desert. It would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of the swarthy beings, the heads of the tribes, who lined the tent in two rows, the foremost seated, and the hindermost standing, the better to see and hear what was going forward. Their dress was simple in the extreme, and consisted of the usual long shirt and flowing head-dress of the Bedooeen, from beneath which their black hair was allowed to hang in a long curl down each side of the face. Their countenances bespoke craft and distrust, and there was nothing in their demeanour calculated to inspire one with confidence. Scarcely a word was uttered by them during my interview with the Sheikh, and they continued to smoke their pipes in sullen silence and unconcern, ever and anon throwing a glance at me, which seemed to say: "You are safe now, but had we met you on the road, we should have seized the opportunity to exchange our filthy, greasy attire, for your clean and better habiliments."

Having brought with us a present for Sufoog, I asked whether

it should be produced, but he begged me to defer offering it to him until he was alone, fearing no doubt that some of his chiefs might claim a share. Late in the evening he came unattended to our tent, when the present was opened out before him in due form, and Mrs. Badger then paid Amshé, his favourite wife, a complimentary visit for a similar purpose. Her description of this lady, and the domestic life of the other females of the harem, confirmed me in the opinion that the Arabs are the dirtiest people under the sun.

Our supper was sent us from the Sheikh's tent, and consisted of a boiled lamb, wheaten cakes, two immense dishes of pilau, and four bowls of sour milk mixed with shreds of garlic. I observed that the Arabs gave us two cups of coffee, and even a third; whereas, among the Turks and other orientals, the offering of a second cup to a guest would be regarded as a hint that his company was no longer desired.

We retired to rest soon after supper, Mrs. Badger and I in one tent, and the remainder of our party in another close by. We had not lain long when the wind blew a perfect hurricane, the rain descended in torrents, and our frail dwelling-place was carried away from our heads. We were now in the most miserable plight imaginable, our clothes and bedding were thoroughly drenched, and we were exposed to the violence of the storm without any shelter, as most of the tents in the neighbourhood had shared a similar fate. Amshé's tent was no longer to be seen, whilst her husband was comfortably lodged in one more securely pitched with one of his concubines, of whom he had four. The Arabs soon came and assisted to raise our fallen habitation, and we afterwards slept soundly, little dreaming that we were in the midst of thieves. In the morning, however, we found to our dismay that my travelling boots, which Sufoog himself had coveted the day before, and several articles of Mrs. Badger's dress, had been purloined during the night; and not having brought any change with us, Mrs. Badger was obliged to put on a silk garment which we had intended to give to the guide Husein, and I was reduced to the necessity of riding barefoot. Sufoog, on hearing of the robbery, sent his son Ferhân to examine all the tents in the vicinity; but to no avail, the articles were not to be found. This treacherous

conduct on the part of the Arabs determined me to leave without delay, and I communicated my intentions to Sufoog. He, however, would not hear of our departure, and told us decidedly that we should not go. I afterwards learned that being at enmity with some of the neighbouring tribes, he wished to detain us for his own security, and had accordingly despatched messengers far and wide to spread the intelligence that a Frank of great consequence had been sent to him on a mission from the government. What could we do? we were now in his hands, and were obliged to submit with the best grace possible.

Early in the morning we observed that the whole camp was in motion, and on inquiring the cause were told that they intended to seek a better site on the eastern bank of the Jullâb. This was a mere excuse, for I afterwards found, that fearing an attack from a hostile tribe, they deemed it more secure to have the river between them and their enemies. The striking of the tents, the lading of the camels, the bustle of collecting together all the cattle dispersed in the vicinity, made up a lively scene. All being now ready the troop began to move, the men mounted on their horses, some of the women walking, whilst others higher in rank rode on camels, their children's heads peering out of the saddle-bags on either side. These little urchins seemed quite at their ease, clapped their hands, and screamed with delight, as the caravan moved forward. One, a girl of about nine years old, begged her father to allow her to ride; the barbarian felled her to the ground with a blow of his fist, whilst Sufoog looked on and commended this act of brutality. On expostulating with him he appeared surprised at the interest which I took in the child, and supposing that I had mistaken the sex said naïvely, "Why! she is a girl, not a boy;" as though this circumstance was more than sufficient to sanction such inhumanity.

We crossed the Jullâb, here nothing more than a muddy stream three feet wide, and in less than an hour all the tents were pitched, and everything had resumed its former order. Our breakfast, consisting of butter, honey, and cream, was now sent to us, after partaking of which I again repaired to the council tent, and took my seat by the side of the Sheikh. Sufoog appeared more reserved than ever, a deep gloom had

settled on his countenance, and he scarcely uttered a word. This silence was soon broken by the approach of a party of spearmen, bringing with them a large booty in tents, camels, and sheep. Sufoog looked sad and disconcerted at this sight, and hardly spoke while the new comers took their seats among the rest of the assembled Bedooeen. On inquiring from whence the plundering party had come, one of the Arabs gave me the following account of the whole affair. It appears that the Sayeh tribe had been at variance for some time with the Shammar, and that in one of the engagements that had taken place between them a cousin of Sufoog had lost his hand. Peace was finally agreed on, and Sufoog had given his word and oath that the Sayeh might pasture their flocks in perfect security, promising that blood should not be demanded for the injury which his cousin had sustained. In accordance with this understanding a division of the Sayeh had pitched their tents a few miles distant from the encampment of the Shammar, little thinking that the treaty which had been sealed with so high a sanction as Sufoog's oath was so soon to be violated. Without the knowledge of their chief, a party of the Shammar set off during the preceding night, fell upon the unwary Sayeh, killed several of their number, and carried away with them the booty which has already been described. One of the assailants, a Sheikh of Sufoog's tribe, was wounded severely in the neck with a spear, and we hastened to apply such remedies as we deemed most suitable. The unfortunate man sat by the fire, quite unconscious of what was going on, but without uttering a word of complaint. Sufoog was evidently puzzled what course to pursue: his own people were at variance among themselves, and he evidently did not think it prudent openly to condemn the conduct of his cousin's followers. Yet he must take some notice of the complaints which two envoys from the Sayeh had come to lay before him, for these he knew would reproach him with the violation of his oath. He accordingly despatched his son Ferhân to learn their intentions, and told the assembled Bedooeen that if the conquered tribe manifested any design of joining the Aniza, he would immediately attack them; but if they were willing to come to terms the booty should be restored and every possible reparation made. The Shammar sheikhs

now divested themselves of their chain armour, which was made in the shape of a shirt with a high collar, coffee was handed to them, and the wounded man was invested with a cloak of honour as a reward for his bravery. News was then brought that the Sæyeh were not likely to listen to the terms proposed, and this intelligence threw a fresh gloom over the assembled Arabs. Sufoog was evidently thinking what was to be done, and from some signs which passed between them I concluded that the heads of the Shammar had determined upon a fresh battle with their neighbours. Not relishing the idea of mixing in an affray of this nature I repaired to our tent determined to make an effort to leave the encampment.

As soon as we got our mules together I sent to inform Sufoog that we were about to start: he still protested against our departure, but finding me decided he at length gave his assent. He then presented Mrs. Badger and myself with a horse, and gave one also to our Greek servant. The Armenian pedlar, who professed to be a judge in such matters, discovered several defects in the animal offered to me, and pressed me to refuse it. I endeavoured to show the fellow the impropriety of such a course, but not satisfied with this he went to Sufoog himself and told him that I was discontented with his present. The Sheikh then came out, and after examining the creature, which it appears he had just purchased from one of his tribe for several camels and sheep, pronounced it sound and good in every respect. We now strung the three horses together, mine being the hindmost, and started from the encampment. We had not proceeded more than a couple of miles, when the former owner, disgusted that a horse of his should have been decried, came quietly in the rear of our caravan, loosed the horse from its fellow, jumped on his back, and before we were hardly aware of his presence plunged into the desert and was soon out of sight. We were too glad to have escaped from the encampment to think of returning, so leaving the horse to the Arabs we continued our journey towards Harrân.

The following account of the different streams in this district may not be uninteresting to geographers. The Jullâb rises at a place called Deeb Hisâr to the east of the Garamoosh range, runs in a southerly direction, and is met a little south of

Harrân by the Kara Koyoon and Koti rivulets. The former, as has already been noticed, flows from the north-west of Urfah, from a place called Keshishlek, and is joined about two hours below the town by the water from the mosque of Ibraheem Khaleel. Some distance south of this junction several springs form a small rivulet called the Koti, which also flows into the Kara Koyoon. The Jullâb winds its solitary way through the desert for about ten miles south of Harrân, when it is increased by another stream formed by several springs rising near the shrine of Ibraheem Khaleel, and called Jullâb-oot-Toorkmân. Some hours farther south the united Jullâbs are joined by the Beleekh and flow into the Euphrates at Racca. Harrân is about thirty miles from Racca.

We left Sufoog's encampment at 2 P.M., and travelled over a barren road for two hours, when we came in sight of fields of wheat and barley which had been entirely destroyed by the wind and hail of the preceding evening. The soil here is alluvial, owing to the overflowing of the Jullâb, and is tolerably well cultivated by the Arabs of the district. We reached Harrân at 5 P.M. and the brother of Shlash, the chief of the Jès Arabs, volunteered to conduct us through the place. Harrân stands on two low hills, and from the traces of old foundations appears to have been encircled with a wall which joined on to the castle. The castle is of an irregular shape, and built chiefly of bricks very much resembling those which have been dug up at Nimrood and Nineveh. On the projecting angles of this ruined edifice the Arabs have erected their conical huts with the bricks which are scattered about most plentifully in every part of the enclosed space. Not far from the castle is a small eminence literally covered with several hundred of these quaint-looking habitations, some of which consist of three cones, whilst others have no more than one. All were now deserted, the Arabs having taken to their tents to escape from the vermin which infest them during this season. Pursuing our way over mounds of rubbish and lines of old foundations, we came to about the centre of the area, where we found the skeleton remains of the principal building in the place, but for what purpose originally intended it is somewhat difficult to decide. My impression is that it was designed for a Christian temple, and was afterwards converted

RUINS OF HARRAN.

into a Mohammedan place of worship by the Saracens, and this idea is borne out by the modern name of Jamaa-el-Ahmar, or the Red Mosque, by which the Arabs still designate it. It is of an oblong form, and is built east and west, with three parallel walls running the entire length of the interior and dividing it into four unequal aisles. The centre of the eastern wall, where the altar may be supposed to have stood, is ornamented with two Corinthian pillars, and the partition walls are pierced with arches supported here and there with columns of the same order. In the north-east angle is a square tower about sixty feet high, the lower part built of stone, and the upper of brick, which I imagine to have been once a belfry, and then a minaret. The tower is visible from the castle at Urfah, and from many miles distant in the desert south of Harrân. In the northern aisle is a circular fountain, which there can be no doubt was introduced for religious ablutions by the Mohammedans when the building was used as a mosque. The same addition has been made to the old church in Urfah, which is now the Oloor Jamesi, as has been already noticed.

Judging from the foundations still extant the city wall was about three miles in extent, and circular in form. It appears also to have been defended in its weaker points by a deep fosse, which is now partly filled up. Just outside the wall to the south-west is the modern Mussulman shrine called Ziyaret Sheikh Yahya (John); but the Christians have a tradition that the grave of Terah, Abraham's father, exists within its precincts.

The conduct of Shlash's brother, my guide, and of two other Arabs who had joined him while I was examining the ruins, prevented me from extending my researches into the interior of the castle, where I understood there are several ancient vaults, one containing two small and beautiful pillars each crowned with a lotus blossom. The savage-looking fellows, who were armed with clubs hid beneath their cloaks, first tried to decoy me into one of the subterraneous passages, promising to show me something very wonderful; but finding me on my guard they charged me in the most insolent manner with a desire to excavate for treasure. Being alone, and unprovided with any weapon of defence, I strolled about hither and thither hoping to meet some of our party. On reaching the summit of a mound from whence I could be seen by them, the two Arabs took their departure, and my guide accompanied me to the tent where I found Shlash himself, the sheikh of the Jès tribe, who had come to pay us a visit. He is a fine young man with a frank and open countenance, which contrasted strikingly with the villanous look of his brother,—a notoriously bad character, who was imprisoned at Urfah for nine months for having been an accomplice in the murder of two Turks, and would have been hung had not his brother ransomed him by the payment of a large sum of money. Shlash informed me that the Jès were all *Igrâwy*, that is village-dwelling Arabs, who cultivate the soil, but in seasons of scarcity roam about in the desert like the Bedooeen, and sometimes cross the Euphrates. They are not numerous now, having suffered much from the Aniza and Shammar, and from the exactions and tyranny of the Turkish government. They are considered a most treacherous set by the people of Urfah, and if all that is told of their secret murders may be relied on, they are not much behind the Thugs of India in dexterous atrocities. The only Englishman whom Shlash remembered to have seen at Harrân previous to our visit was Captain Lynch of the Indian navy, whose name he was quite familiar with.

May 25th.—Long before day-break three or four runaway Arabs came to Harrân bringing the intelligence that the Sayeh had attacked the Shammar during the night, and that a fierce conflict had ensued in which many lives were lost on both sides. The Sheikh, whose wound we had dressed, had also died, and

the whole encampment was in confusion. We left Harrân at 4 A.M., glad to have escaped the melée, and at the distance of half-a-mile from the village saw the well where Jacob is said to have had his first interview with his cousin Rachel (Gen. xxix. 1—8.) The flocks of the Arab are still watered there, and there, close by the well's mouth, are several large stones, one of which Jacob's hands may have touched when he wooed the "beautiful and well-favoured Rachel." There are two or three other wells in the vicinity, but this is the only one near Harrân containing sweet water, the rest being brackish; so I think there is good reason to believe the authenticity of the tradition attached to the "Beer Yaacoob." We followed the direct route to Urfah, cantered the greater part of the way, and in less than five hours entered the town, where we were again welcomed by our kind host Mokdisi Yeshua.

I shall now offer a few remarks upon the character of the Bedooeen Arabs, and in so doing shall endeavour to estimate aright their virtues and their vices. My first acquaintance with them began in 1835, when I travelled through Syria and Palestine to the borders of the Euphrates; and during my two visits to Mosul I had frequent opportunities of mixing with them, and of conversing with many of the chiefs, who are all well known to Mr. Rassam. The halo of romance, which eastern tales and the flowery narratives of some modern travellers, had thrown around this interesting people, gradually disappeared, together with my own fanciful prepossessions in their favour, as I became more intimately acquainted with their domestic and social habits, and began to perceive that the gay hues in which they had been depicted, were rather the pencillings of the imagination, than the sober colours of reality and truth. It is not to be questioned but that the Arabs are endowed with a few good and sterling qualities, the want of which among the dwellers of the towns and villages, and not any pre-eminence in those qualities, constitutes the real difference between the two classes. They are remarkable for temperance in eating and drinking, for great powers of endurance, and for an independent bearing, as far removed from the haughtiness of the Turk, as it is from the cringing servility of the long-oppressed *rayah*. But these peculiarities spring almost of necessity from their mode

JACOB'S WELL AT HARRAN.

of life, from the desert which they inhabit, and from the form of government which exists among them. I do not consider them brave in fight, except when the advantage of position and numbers is on their side, or when they are driven to desperation. Their courage is in fact nearly allied to cowardice, for they will fearlessly attack a caravan tended by muleteers, or protected by a few inexperienced guards, but they will seldom dare to approach an escort of regular soldiery, however small it may happen to be. In this respect, indeed, they may be regarded as common robbers, who will filch and steal from such as can offer them little or no resistance. Their hospitality, which has been so highly extolled, is certainly not greater or more genuine than that of most orientals; and I doubt whether a Bedooeen ever gives any thing away without expecting a fourfold return. Travellers in general write in very pretty strains of their reception by the Arabs of the desert; but they seldom tell us how much they paid for the compliment. They are bountiful to their entertainers because they are delighted to find themselves secure among a band of marauders, for the novelty of the thing, or because they wish to conciliate them; and the Arabs, as a matter of course, treat them with respect and consideration. But not feeling the same interest in their situation when they happen to be in a common town or village, they are less liberally and graciously disposed, and then they wonder that the natives do not appear so well satisfied as the Arabs did. The Arabs, moreover, they generally affect to treat as equals, perhaps as superiors for the nonce, and their servants and interpreters, if they have any such with them, adopt a similar line of conduct, well knowing that their accustomed insolence would not be brooked by the proud sons of Ishmael. But how do European travellers usually conduct themselves in the towns and villages of Turkey? Why, for the most part, they assume the haughty swagger of the Turk, and look down upon the natives as slaves, in which they are exceeded by their domestics who, because they know that they can do so with impunity, act in the most overbearing manner towards their fellow subjects. I am not now imagining a case; I have seen many such instances, and from my intimate knowledge of the easterns generally, I feel assured, that if travellers would treat the town and village-dwelling people as they find

they must treat the Bedooeen, they would never have to complain of their inattention or want of hospitality.

Another bad feature in the Arab character is covetousness: they are seldom satisfied with the remuneration offered for their services, and will beg the traveller's boots, handkerchief, gun, or any thing else, with the greatest importunity and barefacedness. They are dirty to a proverb, both in their food and clothing, and are frequently known to put on a shirt which is never changed or washed until it is worn out and replaced by a new one. They know nothing of letters, and are consequently very ignorant: each tribe has a Moollah or two, whose chief business is to write for the Sheikh, and to recite passages of the Korân, but their office is not held in high repute, for the Arabs are an irreligious people, though in many respects bigoted in their attachment to Mohammed. They seldom observe the set times of prayer, and there are generally a few in each encampment who pray for the remainder in rotation, which they deem equivalent to their performance of the duty individually. I have occasionally spoken with the Bedooeen respecting the state after death, and was not a little surprised to find that their idea of future happiness was not unlike that of the American Indians. The desert Arab appears to believe that his favourite mare will be his companion hereafter, and that in the revelry of sensual delights he shall enjoy beyond the grave the paradise of the False Prophet.

It is deeply to be regretted, that instead of seeking to improve the moral and social condition of this people, the Turks have done all in their power to render every thing like subjection to authority obnoxious to them, insomuch that the very name of Osmanli is execrated by the Bedoocen. For, what is there in the circumstances of the other subjects of the Porte to induce the Arabs to give up their present freedom, and to follow some more settled and useful occupation than that of incessantly roving about from place to place, doing nothing more than tending their flocks and breeding horses, not to speak of their freebooting propensities, from which they doubtless derive no little profit? They would have every thing to lose by the exchange, and nothing to gain, and hence we may conclude that they will remain just what they are until a more equitable

system of government is adopted throughout the Turkish provinces. If this were once effected, I, for my own part, am far from believing that the Bedooeen could not be reclaimed, if proper measures were pursued to that end. The erection of a line of forts through the desert, and the offer of protection to such as should settle in the vicinity of the same, would, I am persuaded, induce many to abandon their nomade habits; a number of villages would spring up in the wilderness, commerce would flourish, the roads now closed to the merchant and traveller would be opened, and the way would thus be prepared for greater improvements, and eventually, it is to be hoped, for the preaching of the Gospel among the wild descendants of Abraham's injured and exiled son.

Mr. Layard has given a graphic account of his visit to the Shammar tribe, and of his reception by Sufoog, whom he met at El Hadhr about a year after the events related in the foregoing narrative. He also gives an interesting biography of that renowned chieftain, and of his murder by Nejib Pasha of Baghdad, in 1848, which will amply repay a careful perusal. The whole chapter is strikingly illustrative of the habits and customs of the Bedooeen, and of the form of government which prevails among those who inhabit the great desert east of the Euphrates.

CHAPTER XXII.

Departure from Urfah and arrival at Birejik.—The Euphrates Expedition in 1836.—Description of Birejik.—The Castle and its ruins.—An adventure.—Aleppo.—Christian population.—Character of the Aleppines.—Want of English clergy in the Levant.—Departure from Aleppo and arrival in London.—Breaking up of the mission to the Nestorians.—The author's return to Mosul in 1849.—Turkish politics.

May 28.—We left Urfah this evening, and passed the night at Khudhr Elias, where our hospitable host had prepared an entertainment for us, to which Mutran Agop and several of the Armenian and Syrian clergy were invited. The Bishop made many inquiries respecting our Church, and expressed his sincere desire for the religious improvement of his people. On the following morning we bade farewell to our kind friends at 4 A.M. and pursued our journey over an undulating and barren country till noon, when we reached Tcarmelik, where we located ourselves in a ruined mosque which stands by the side of a large khan in tolerably good repair. Just below the mosque is a capacious reservoir measuring eighty feet in depth. We passed several of these rock cisterns during our day's journey, and they are common in this district along the caravan routes. There is a large Coordish village of conical mud huts in the vicinity, but the villagers had all gone into the Scrooj to pasture their flocks.

May 30*th*.—We started from Tcarmelik at 4 A.M. and at noon reached Birejik on the Euphrates, where we were accommodated on the terrace of an Armenian house close under the castle, in order to be in readiness to cross the river early in the morning. The general features of the road to-day were like those of yesterday; the country is barren but more rocky, and

as we approached the town covered with chalk hills sprinkled over with a stunted brushwood.

The sight of Birejik reminded me of my visit to the Euphrates Expedition in 1836, just before the two steamers started on their voyage of discovery, one, the "Tigris," never to be heard of more. Long shall I remember the energy displayed both by officers and men, and withal the unanimity and cheerfulness which prevailed among them. "Port William," the name given to the station on the western bank of the river where the boats were put together, was all life and activity from morning till night, each pursuing his avocation with a right good will under the able and zealous superintendence of Colonel Chesney. Sunday came round and with it a suspension of all work; the bell was rung for divine service on board the "Euphrates," the ensign was lowered, and all assembled on the quarter-deck publicly to recognize the Almighty Ruler of the universe and their individual dependance on Him. The moral effect of this outward respect paid to religion upon the surrounding natives must have been great because of its singularity, and I doubt not tended in a high degree to preserve among the members of the Expedition that sobriety, order, and good feeling, for which they were remarkable.

On our second journey to Mosul in 1849 we were obliged to spend a quarantine of twelve days at Birejik, when I had abundant leisure to examine all the objects of interest in the neighbourhood, a short account of which I shall now proceed to lay before my readers.

Birejik is built upon a rather abrupt slope, the base of which touches the eastern bank of the Euphrates. The country around consists chiefly of chalk hills, and as the town is constructed of the same material it would be hardly visible at any distance were it not for a narrow belt of gardens which crowns its summit. The houses are flat-roofed, and all the windows open into a court-yard. Besides a covered bazaar containing about sixty shops, there are five mosques and three baths in the place; but none of these can lay claim to any antiquity. The inhabitants are pleased to say that before the last earthquake of 1826 Birejik could boast of several ancient palaces; but of these no vestige remains, and all the modern buildings are of the plainest

architecture. The town is not very clean, but is considered healthy; the climate in summer during the day isvery hot, but the nights are cool and pleasant. When I was here in March, 1836, the nights were bitterly cold, but the sun was hardly up when the heat was scorching, reminding one forcibly of Jacob's expostulation with Laban somewhere in the vicinity of Harrân, when he said: "In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night, and my sleep departed from mine eyes."

Birejik contains a population of 1500 families composed of Turks, Turcomans, Arabs, Christians, and a few resident Jews. Turkish is the only language spoken except by the Arabs, who seldom speak any other than their own native tongue. The Christians, who are all Armenians, have a church and a priest. The bulk of the people are petty traders and craftsmen; the Arabs and Turcomans, who live chiefly in the numerous caves which skirt the hills around, are engaged in tending the flocks of sheep which are kept here for the Aleppo and other Syrian markets. The custody of the town is entrusted to a Mutsellim, and a few irregular troops. When I called upon this official in 1849 he was playing chess with two merchants of the town in his shirt sleeves, and his Frank trowsers were attached to his extremities by a solitary button. His assistant seemed anxious to copy the style of his superior, for when he returned my visit he was without coat or stockings. I have often had occasion to observe, that the substitution of the Frank for the Oriental costume by the Turks has rendered them very careless in their mode of dress.

There is little cultivation in the vicinity of the town, if we except the wheat and other grain which are raised in great abundance in the vast plains bordering the Euphrates, and which form the staple articles of commerce in this district. Fruits are scarce, but melons, cucumbers, onions, and other vegetables are grown in large quantities on the banks of the river.

But the most interesting object at Birejik is the old castle, which though shattered and fast crumbling into ruin, presents a most imposing spectacle. It is built upon an isolated rock at the northern extremity of the town, of an oblong form, and upwards of two hundred feet from the ground below. The entrance is by a narrow gateway leading through an excavated

F C Cooper, lith

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BAS-RELIEF IN THE CASTLE OF BIREJIK

passage to the fortress above, and through a covered way to the river. The upper area appears to have been lined on the eastern side with a double row of apartments surmounted by a strong parapet which extended round the entire fortress. Underneath these buildings are two tiers of galleries, the lower of which is cut out of the solid rock, and pierced with loop-holes for archery. There are several chambers on the southern side in a good state of preservation: one of these contains the tomb of a Mohammedan santon covered with parti-coloured rags,—the tokens of vows made by pious visitors to the sacred shrine. An old padded cap, the remains of a green turban, and a leathern sling three feet long, are placed at the head of the grave, and we also remarked numerous small stones stuck on the walls around, which on inquiry I learned to be another mode common among the Mussulmans of commemorating their religious visits to places reputed to be holy. But one of the most curious relics now extant is a bas-relief occupying the end of one of the arched apartments in the northern part of the castle. The accompanying sketch conveys a correct idea of the original, which has been considerably defaced by some bigoted Moslems. The centre piece, enclosed within a figure resembling a crescent, is what some persons have taken for a crusader's cross; but after carefully washing the sculpture I could not trace any such design. The style, moreover, and the costume are at variance with that notion, and remind one more of the later Persian engraving. The ground is painted with ochre, and the portraits of a dark dingy colour with occasional variegations in the dress. The original inscription has been erased, and an Arabic one substituted in its stead, which in its turn has been so destroyed as to be quite illegible.

Among the débris we saw the capital of a Corinthian column, and a few ancient friezes, the only remains now extant of Roman skill and sovereignty, if we except the subterranean galleries. These are covered with round arches, whereas all the upper buildings have the pointed Saracen arch. In the lower yard of the castle we found three other sculptures, cut in basaltic rock, of which the annexed are correct copies. Fig. 1, I was informed, was brought from Mumbej, the ancient Hierapolis, and Nos. 2 and 3, which are separate slabs, from some village north of

Birejik. Though the figures on the latter are considerably injured, yet enough remains to show that they were intended to represent a man and woman, and the words "Christos" and "Barnabas" in the Greek inscription determine their date to be posterior to the commencement of the Christian era.

We were not a little vexed on reaching Aleppo in November, 1849, to find that we should have to perform a quarantine of twelve days either at Aintâb or at Birejik before we could be allowed to pursue our journey into Mesopotamia. We chose the latter for our prison, and were allowed to reside in the castle instead of the miserable Khan lately built as a lazaretto on the western bank of the river. We had not been in our new quarters long when the absurdity of the detention as a sanatory measure became too obvious. Caravans which had performed quarantine at Aintâb mixed on the road with those which had come direct from Aleppo, and on reaching the Euphrates the former were allowed to proceed on their way, while the latter were lodged in the Khan to undergo their purification. The guardiano set over us freely went into the town and purchased for us whatever we required; individuals just released from the Khan came and paid friendly visits to their friends in the castle, whose term of durance was not yet expired, sat in the same room with them, smoked in their company, and then separated. The Nâzir, or superintendent, took the same licence; he politely rowed over a Turkish officer who had come in charge of a detachment of troops on their way to Urfah, took him to his own apartment, chatted with him all day, breakfasted and dined with him, and went into the city whenever he felt disposed. To escape this annoyance many of the natives cross the river by stealth, some to the north and others to the south of the town. Nor is it the detention merely which renders this measure so vexatious, especially to the trading portion of the community; but it is the heavy tax which is levied not only upon the individuals but upon the merchandize passing this way. Each mule-load must pay so much, and if the weight happens to exceed the regulated scale, twice the sum is exacted; so that in fact all merchandize passing into the interior from the sea-coast is subjected to a fresh custom duty in contravention of the treaties made with Turkey by the different European powers. I mention

Fig 2. Fig 3.

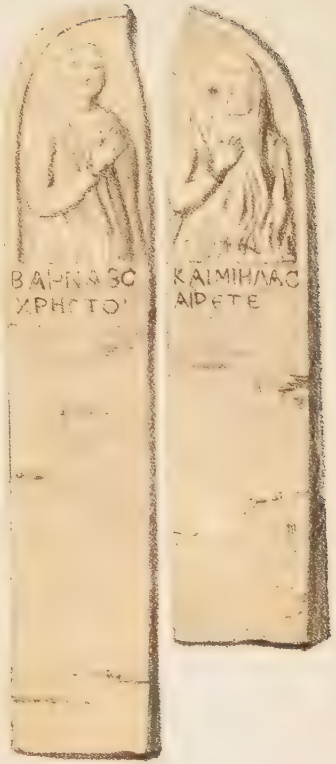


Fig 1

F.C Cooper, lith.

Printed by C Graf, 1, Great Castle St.

ANCIENT SCULPTURES FOUND IN THE CASTLE OF BIREJIK.

this because considerations of this nature are more likely than any other to induce the foreign representatives at the Porte to inquire into the state of these so-called quarantine establishments in the interior. If the measure is a mere fiscal one, and the principle is just, let the money be levied by all means; but if the toll is all that is sought after, let the arbitrary detention be removed. I have since heard that the quarantine at Aintâb and Birejik has been shortened from twelve to five days.

May 31*st*.—We crossed the river at 4 A.M., and diverged a little from our road to visit "Port William" on the opposite bank. The rooms still contained several relics of the expedition, such as cart-wheels, blocks of wood, coal, &c., which I wonder the natives do not carry away, as there is no person charged to take care of the property. In five hours we passed the Kesreen bridges, and shortly after stopped near a copious spring to rest during the heat of the day which was now beginning to be excessive. Three rough-looking *fellaheen* were seated by the well's mouth, one of whom took the liberty of occupying the carpet which our Greek servant had thrown upon the grass for Mrs. Badger's accommodation. I ordered the carpet to be removed, and to our surprise the same fellow quietly squatted himself upon it a second time. He paid so little attention to our expostulations, that our Mosul servant Rahhomi approached him and gave him a severe castigation. This effectually cured his predilection for the carpet, but as he skulked away with his companions he threatened that we should not pass the Sajoor river in safety. We again started on our journey at 4 P.M. and at 7 reached the Sajoor, which was then so swollen, and the night so dark, that our muleteers refused to cross: so pitching our tent in the valley we retired to rest quite forgetful of the friends we had met in the morning. We had not retired long when Giorgio woke me, and pointed to nine figures on the hills a short distance from us, who were evidently watching our movements. We accordingly prepared for the attack, made a breast-work of our baggage, charged our muskets, and waited patiently for the onset. An hour passed and no movement was made on the part of our adversaries. Hardly wishing to spend a wakeful night after a long day's journey, I proposed that we should advance. Giorgio and Rahhomi were each armed with a pistol,

the runaway soldier and the confidential slave with a sword, the three muleteers with as many matchlocks, and myself with a gun. At a given signal all rushed up the hill, bawling and vociferating to our opponents not to run away. We reached the summit without any opposition, then proceeded along the bank to the spot which our antagonists occupied, and on nearing it found to our great disgust that we had been frightened at eight bushes! Giorgio maintains to this day, I imagine, that the thieves had fled on seeing the spirit which we had manifested, or were scared perhaps at the noise which the assailants had made. We returned to our camp more dejected than if we had been discomfited, but soon forgot in a refreshing sleep the martial encounter with the supposed freebooters.

June 1st.—We left the Sajoor at 4 A.M. and on the following morning, rode into Aleppo, where we were welcomed by Naoom Azâr, a respectable Syrian merchant, and almost the only Jacobite resident in the town, the remainder having joined the Church of Rome. We remained at Aleppo for a fortnight, during which time we had abundant opportunity of mixing with the native clergy, and of making known to them the doctrine and discipline of the English Church; but as it does not enter into the design of this work to treat of Syria, the reader must not be surprised if my remarks thereon are few and cursory. This is the less to be regretted, seeing that the whole of this country is now so well known to Europe through the publications of the numerous travellers who visit it, that any detailed account introduced here would be as superfluous as it would be out of place.

The following is a tolerably correct estimate of the different Christian communities in Aleppo.

The Greek, or Holy Eastern Church, does not number at present more than 100 families, with one place of worship. They are called "Room el Kneesi," and by way of reproach "Fisfisi," i.e., Ephesians.

The Papal Greeks number 1,000 families, with two churches; they had no Bishop when we first visited Aleppo, but on our return in 1849 we found there Mutran Athanasius Tootoonjee, the ex-Bishop of Tripoli, well known to many of our clergy in England.

The Armenians number 180 families, with a Bishop and two churches; and the Papal Armenian community 600 families, with a church and five priests. During our stay there was a controversy going on between these two sects, and I was frequently referred to by the Armenians to assist them in coping with their antagonists. The point in dispute was, "What are the true notes of the Church?"

The Papal Syrians number 350 families, under the Patriarch Botros Gerwa, who some years ago visited England, and obtained grants of money and a printing press from some piously disposed individuals, whom he persuaded that he was desirous of introducing many reforms among his people.

There is also a small community of Maronites, and a large Jewish population at Aleppo. Several of the foreign consuls at this city are Jews. An American Independent mission had been established here some years previous to our first visit, but was afterwards dissolved. In 1849 there were two missionaries from the same body at Aleppo and two at Aintâb, where they have succeeded in forming a schism among the Armenians, and are about to build a separate place of worship for the new proselytes.

Most sincerely is it to be regretted that we have no chaplains in Syria to attend to the spiritual wants of the British residents, and to make known to the native Christian communities what are the doctrines, rites, and discipline of our national religion. This unjustifiable neglect is fraught with mischief, not only to the best interests of our own people but also to the character and honour of the Anglican Church, and contrasts most disadvantageously with the provision made by the Romanists for these objects. There is not a town in Syria or Palestine where there are not some resident Latin priests or missionaries, who act as chaplains to the foreign consulates, besides otherwise forwarding the views of the See of Rome among the Christians of the country. And what is the consequence of this neglect of our people, residents, and travellers in these parts? They have no churches to go to, no opportunity of making any public profession of their religion, and are therefore regarded as little better than atheists by the orientals generally, or they are driven to frequent the meetings of Independent missionaries, and thereby have contributed to confirm the native Christians in the

idea that the English are all sectarians, or that they consider as light and trifling the differences which separate members of the Church from the communion of the multiform dissenters from her pale. The late Rev. H. Wimbolt, agent of the London Society for converting the Jews, endeavoured for several years to remedy this defect at Beyroot, where he opened a room for divine service in his own house, and regularly administered the ordinances of the Church. But all this was voluntary; it was no part of his duty, and he continued to act in this double capacity till tired nature was exhausted, and he has since gone to his rest. His place as spiritual guide to the British community at Beyroot is left unsupplied, nor is there any hope of its being filled up, unless some especial effort is made in behalf of the interests of the Church generally in Syria. Aleppo, Beyroot, and Damascus, ought each to be provided with an English priest, whose office it should be to minister to our own people, and to hold friendly intercourse with the native clergy. It would be in the legitimate province of the Anglican bishopric at Jerusalem to further such a plan, and it can hardly be doubted that if properly represented, what with local subscriptions and assistance from the societies in England, funds would be forthcoming for carrying it out. Little is to be expected in an undertaking of this nature from the government at home, and indeed it is not desirable that these chaplains should be hampered with any obligations to act in accordance with the political views of a foreign secretary. Decent places of worship should be built for the due celebration of our ritual, and the incumbents should be empowered to discharge the functions of curates and missionaries under instructions from the Church, and subject to the episcopal supervision of the Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem. My strong conviction is, that a measure such as this would not only do much towards spreading abroad among the native Christian communities a just appreciation of our apostolical faith and discipline, but also lead them eventually to profit by our good example and to reform their errors after the scriptural model of our ritual.

The most interesting relic of antiquity at Aleppo is the Jamaa el-Kbeer, formerly a Christian church, and said to contain the grave of Zechariah, the father of S. John of Damascus. Tradition says that in the belfry, now a minaret, is a diamond

cross enclosed within a ball, which miraculously returns to its place as often as it is removed. The office of *Muezzin*, or crier to prayers, to this mosque is hereditary, and has been handed down in one family since the time of the Mohammedan conquest. No one but the *Muezzin* himself knows what he chants at the midnight cry; it is certainly not the usual sentence from the Koran, and many affirm that the first word he utters is "Kaddoos," holy. May it not be the ancient hymn Tersanctus, which in Arabic begins with the same word?

The Aleppines, and more especially the Christians of the town, are in my estimation the most highly polished people in the East. There is a cleanliness and comfort in their houses, an elegance and gracefulness in their dress, and a courtesy and affability in their manners, far superior to what is to be met with among orientals generally. They have adopted just so much of European manners and customs as has tended to refine without destroying their native peculiarities. There is more social intercourse among them than exists generally among the people of these countries; the women mix freely with the men in the home circle, and are not debarred, as they are elsewhere in Turkey, from taking a part in the ordinary civilities of society. I have hardly seen better regulated households than some of the respectable families of this town, and that of our kind host Naoom Azar and of Mr. Michael Sola, the dragoman of the British consulate, may be adduced as specimens of every thing that is comely in domestic life and elegant in the proprieties of good breeding. There is not that anxious strife after gain, even among the commercial portion of the community, which characterizes the mass of European merchants; a great part of their time is spent at home, and when their ordinary business is over, which it generally is at four in the afternoon, fathers may be seen taking their families to the gardens to enjoy with them a little innocent recreation after the toil and care of the day. "Why should we make our duty an intolerable task and our life a burden?" some of them have said to me when I have contrasted their freedom from anxiety with the all-absorbing devotion to worldly interests of so many who follow the same pursuits in other countries; "we have enough for our wants, and our sons must labour as we have done, and God will provide." This

reliance on the divine care and bounty is a virtue which is practised in a much higher degree by Easterns than it is by the people of the West generally, and hence the claims of relationship are more fully recognised by the former than by the latter. An indigent relative, however distantly connected, feels himself at home in the house of his kinsman, who on his part considers himself bound to do all in his power to assist him. From this it results that there are many households in the East, composed of several united families, who live together in peace and harmony, the poorer sharing the affluence of the richer, and all regarding one another as members of the same domestic circle.

So great was the kindness and hospitality shown us at Aleppo by many eastern friends,—in which acknowledgment we should be ungrateful not to record the attention of Mr. Consul Werry, who though ill at the time did all he could to render our stay profitable and agreeable, that we prepared to leave it with regret. But we had not yet reached the end of our journey, and duty called us to be going. We accordingly started from the town on the 17th of June, visited Dana and the ruined establishments of the Stylites, or Pillar Saints, in that neighbourhood, crossed the Orontes and the great Turcoman plain, and entered Antioch in three days from Aleppo. From thence our route lay over the wooded heights of mount Casius to Latachia, where we embarked in a native boat for Beyroot, and again left for Smyrna in the Austrian steamer "Arciduca," on the 4th of July. At Smyrna Mr. Fletcher and Kas Botros took their departure for Malta, and Mrs. Badger and I accompanied by Kas Michael proceeded to Constantinople, where we were welcomed by the Rev. Messrs. Miles and Taylor; two missionaries of the American Episcopal Church, who had been sent out to labour among the Armenians. The Rev. H. Southgate was absent at the time on a visit to his native country, where he was consecrated Bishop, and subsequently rejoined his colleagues. This mission, I regret to say, was broken up a few years after, but for what reason I am not informed. We remained at the Turkish capital till the 18th of September, engaged in forwarding the interests of the Nestorians and their Patriarch, and in holding frequent intercourse with the heads of the Christian communities there, and

finally reached London in October, after an absence of nearly two years.

The Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had entirely relinquished the idea of continuing a mission to the Nestorians, and had transferred my services to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, by whom I was to have been engaged, in company with the two priests Kas Botros and Kas Michael, in preparing for the press a Syriac edition of the Sacred Scriptures, the Book of Common Prayer, and other useful works, for the benefit of the people among whom we had been labouring. The valuable MSS. which we had brought with us, amounting to one hundred and fifty in number, had been collected to this end; but the Society, finding that their funds were not adequate to the undertaking, finally declined to enter upon it, and thus ended the mission to the Nestorians. Mr. Fletcher was afterwards admitted to holy orders, and is now minister of S. Saviour's district, in the parish of Hampstead. Kas Botros and Kas Michael remained for some time at Malta under the supervision of the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, who throughout had manifested a deep interest in the welfare of the Nestorians, and were afterwards placed at the disposal of Bishop Southgate at Constantinople. I am not aware how the former came to leave the Bishop, but being thrown out of employ, with no means of subsistence, he attached himself to the American Independent Missionaries, and is at present in their service at Aleppo his native place. Kas Michael was sent to Mosul with instructions to open schools and otherwise to exert himself in behalf of the Nestorians, with a salary of £60 a year. Out of this sum he succeeded in opening two schools in Buhtân, and frequently visited the Nestorian villages in that district, freely preaching in their churches, and exercising the other functions of his ministerial character with the consent and approbation of the Patriarch. Moreover, when Mar Shimoon fled from Mosul he left him in charge of his people there, and directed them to look up to him as their spiritual guide. Last year his salary was stopped, the two schools have fallen into the hands of the American Independents who have consented to support them, and Kas Michael, one of the most able Syriac scholars of the day, and a good man, is now left wholly unprovided for. With

regard to myself, an Indian chaplaincy having been placed at the disposal of our late lamented Primate, I was recommended by him to W. H. C. Plowden, Esq., the generous donor, to whose kindness I shall ever feel deeply indebted, and by whom, under the sanction of the Board of Directors, I was appointed to the Presidency of Bombay, where I arrived in May, 1845.

Were it not out of place here, I would most gladly bear my humble testimony more at large to the munificence of the Honourable East India Company towards the Church establishment in India, and to the kindly disposition of the local authorities generally to forward the interests of religion among the civil and military services under their control. The Bishops are left unfettered in the exercise of their episcopal jurisdiction, and whatever is likely to add to the efficiency of the Church meets with the cordial approval and ready co-operation of the Company's government. A clergyman could not desire more freedom in the discharge of his ministerial functions than he enjoys in India, nor could he wish to be under a more excellent superior than the Lord Bishop of Bombay, [Dr. Carr], who is a father to his clergy, and deservedly revered by them and by the community at large, both for his private virtues and for his zealous though quiet efforts to extend the empire of the Redeemer over the length and breadth of his diocese.

After doing duty for eighteen months in the Southern Mahratta country, I was appointed chaplain to Aden, where a severe illness, which brought me to the borders of the grave and left behind it an inveterate nervous affection, induced the physicians to recommend a change of climate. I accordingly left Aden in March 1849, accompanied by Mrs. Badger, the untiring partner of my wanderings, spent a short time in Egypt, and passed a summer in one of the villages on mount Lebanon. A return of my old complaint, joined with a strong desire to visit the scenes of my former labours, led me to travel farther eastward, and we accordingly proceeded to Mosul, which we reached in safety on the 9th of December. The reader must excuse this biographical episode which has been introduced solely for the sake of connecting the order of my narrative.

As a great portion of the information acquired during this second trip has been embodied in the foregoing pages, little need

be said of our journey through Syria and Mesopotamia. The *Tanzeemât Khairiyyeh,* or Beneficial Ordinances, had already been several years in operation, and I had some opportunity of judging what were the effects of this new chapter of privileges upon the subjects of the Porte in these parts of the Turkish empire. It would be unjust not to allow that the condition of the agriculturists, and indeed of the natives generally, has been improved : less tyranny is openly exercised by the Pashas of the different districts, the laws are more justly administered, the Christians are not so much oppressed as they were formerly, and the taxes and other duties are imposed and levied with greater equity than heretofore. Nor have the people been backward in appreciating the rights thus accorded to them : the Christians are thankful for the boon and the Mohammedans might be equally so were it not for the hateful conscription which has been extended to the Coords, and to other tribes who were formerly exempted from serving in the army. In several instances we found that the villagers in the interior had taken advantage of their new immunities to refuse the traveller's claim to hospitality (a thing almost unheard of before in the East,) and we were imperiously told on more than one occasion that we should not enter their houses, though we had guards with us from the government, and passports from the Pashas of the provinces. To our repeated assurances that we intended to pay for our accommodation, and would fee them besides, they replied : "Tanzeemât ! Tanzeemât ! " as if the ordinances referred to gave them the right, in their turn, to lord it over strangers. It is just for me to mention that this conduct was manifested chiefly by the Coords between Birejik and Diarbekir, who are a notoriously rude and barbarous race. On mentioning several facts of this kind to Asaad Pasha of Diarbekir, he regretted that the ordinances had been extended at once to all classes of the Sultan's subjects, or that they had not been coupled with some provision to prevent abuse. "As to the Coords," said he, "it was arrant folly to give the Tanzeemât to such barbarians."

There may be some truth in the idea that a portion of the Sultan's subjects are not yet fit for the enjoyment of the liberties now extended to them, and that unless other radical reforms are superadded, these privileges may be so misused as to oblige

the government to abridge or revoke them. The tendency of the Tanzeemât is to pave the way for the people to become more prosperous and consequently more independent, and in the same ratio that they attain to this state will they become more impatient of control, and more disposed to resist any species of aggression on the part of their rulers. And here it is important to bear in mind, that the Turks have no hold whatever on the affections of the masses in the empire; on the contrary, they are cordially hated, not only by the Christians, but also by the Coords, Yezeedees, Druses, and Arabs, that is by ninety-nine out of a hundred of their subjects, who could overthrow the Ottoman dynasty at a blow. The prejudices of religion and caste, which separate these distinct races, may perchance always prevent their combining to any such end; but it is by no means improbable that the attempt may be made when once the better circumstances of the disaffected shall supply them with the means of effectually withstanding their feeble and degenerate masters. Hence, it seems to me, that in easing the yoke of servitude wherewith they have hitherto ruled their subjects, without making any adequate provision for the probable consequences of the immunities now granted to them, the Turks are arming their adversaries with weapons which they will not fail to use against them on the first favourable opportunity.

For one thing is certain, that the administrators of the new laws have no right conception of their spirit, and hence, whereas in some cases they are likely to be misinterpreted or misapplied into immunities for crime; in others, they will only serve as an additional sanction to the misgovernment of provincial Pashas. Thus, Asaad Pasha of Diarbekir deeply regretted that he could not punish offenders as they deserved, because of the Tanzeemât, and the Pasha of Mosul adduces the same excuse for a leniency destructive of the well-being of society. During my visit to Mosul in 1850, this last mentioned official dismissed several notorious thieves, in whose possession a large amount of stolen property was discovered, which had been claimed and restored to its rightful owners, on the ground that the proof required by the new ordinances to convict them was not forthcoming. The same Pasha has been frequently known to require the members of the municipal council,—who, by the way, are

supposed to deliberate and decide freely, as if men educated under despotic rule can be really capable of exercising the functions of popular representatives with any thing akin to independence,—to come to opposite decisions on the same subject, and to confirm both by affixing their seals thereto as the genuine conviction of their united judgment. Instances of this nature,—and many such might be adduced, for they spring of necessity from the opposite genius of the governors and governed, from their separate interests, and from the despotism of ages on both sides,—go to destroy all hope that the new ordinances will effect any radical reformation in the Turkish empire. To use a scriptural simile, the promulgation of the Tanzeemât is nothing more than the putting of a new patch upon an old garment: the concessions which they accord may cover the more glaring defects of a bad system for a time, but in the end will make the rent worse; and no traveller in the east, who has looked beyond the surface of Ottoman rule, whether under the old or new régime, can fail to be convinced, that it is based upon no fixed principles of justice, or of real anxiety for the welfare of the subject, and is consequently rotten at its very core, and fast falling into decay. No better proof, perhaps, could be adduced in support of this conclusion, than the undeniable fact that the Tanzeemât, or any similar chapter of privileges, lately accorded to the Sultan's subjects, is not the offspring of the voluntary suffrage of the ruling powers, springing from any comprehensive appreciation of the rights of the people, or of the real value and tendencies of the immunities conceded; but has been granted mainly out of a disposition to ape the political institutions of Europe, in the same way that the change of costume was introduced by the late Sultan Mahmood, or to satisfy the importunate expostulations of foreign representatives at the Sublime Porte.*

In fact, the Osmanlis do not possess the materials for administering any other than a despotic form of government, and therefore every attempt made on their part to effect a radical change in their political system will be futile. Their Pashas are generally ignorant and rapacious men, their Cadhis, or

* A German friend of mine aptly likens Turkey under foreign influence to a galvanized frog.

Judges, are venal to a proverb, their Oolema are unalterably attached to the old policy, and their soldiers are devoid of one spark of true patriotism. Look, then, at the state of the eastern provinces of the empire; on reaching Idlib, three days from the sea coast, we found the governor expelled the palace by his own attendants, the neighbourhood of the town was infested with robbers, and the same was the case between Aleppo and the Euphrates. Just before we entered Birejik, fifty villages in the Serooj had been laid waste by the Bedooeen, and the road to Urfah was impassable. The district between Mardeen and Jezeerah was overrun by troops of marauding Arabs, who ravaged the villages on the banks of the Tigris, and approached even to the walls of Mosul. No efforts were made on the part of the local authorities to stay these freebooters, who daily plundered caravans, and committed several murders with impunity. The same unsettled state of things exists up to the present time, no property is safe beyond the city gates, and the villagers in the plain are driven to pay the Arabs black mail to purchase indemnity from plunder and bloodshed. In the more distant provinces bordering on Coordistan, such as Bahdinan and the Tyari, which are now supposed to be entirely under Ottoman rule, the Christians continue to be oppressed as usual without any means of obtaining redress. The poor Nestorians are the chief sufferers here, so that it is to be doubted whether they have profited much by their change of masters. The present political condition of the mountain Nestorians will be noticed more particularly in the sequel.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Narrative of Nestorian affairs continued.—Amount of property plundered by the Coords from the Tyari Christians.—Results of Commission appointed to inquire into the massacre of the Nestorians.—Mar Shimoon escapes from Mosul and is recaptured.—Massacre of Nestorians in Tehoma.—Turkish policy.—Bedr Khan Beg murders another Jacobite Bishop.—Warlike preparations against the confederate Coordish chiefs.—Engagements between the Turks and Coords, and the subjection of the latter.—Mar Shimoon flees into Persia.—Exile of Coordish Emeers.—Establishment of Ottoman rule over central Coordistan.

I SHALL now continue my narrative of the Nestorian affairs from Chapter XVIII., where it was broken off. Kemal Effendi, the Turkish Commissioner, and his colleague, Mr. R. Stevens, had been at Mosul for nearly three months previous to our departure, and nothing further had been done in behalf of the Nestorians, than the redemption of a few captives. The Coords still garrisoned Tyari and Dez, and continued to harass and persecute the Nestorians with as much severity as ever. The feeble expostulations of the Porte, if even these were sincerely offered, had no effect whatever in curbing the tyranny of the Emeers, who kept possession of their ill-gotten booty, and dared to proceed to yet greater lengths in their oppression of the mountain Christians. There were now several hundreds of these unfortunate people in Mosul and the surrounding villages, who could not return to their homes for fear of the Coords, and who were dependent upon the charity of strangers for the supply of their daily wants. The Commission wishing to have some estimate of the property plundered from the Nestorians, I was requested by Mar Shimoon to assist in drawing up the following schedule, to be presented to the Turkish government.

LOWER AND UPPER TYARI PROVINCES.

Places.	*Sheep.*	*Oxen.*	*Muskets.*	*Church and house property in Tcerkhies.**	*Remarks.*
Four villages of Walto .	9000	1000	400	15000	[a] Besides the property of Sheeno the head of this village, valued at 5000 Tcerkhies.
Ishté d'Nahra .	5000	100	150	8000	[b] Besides 16 mules belonging to this village, as also the property of Melek Ismaeel, valued at 100,000 Tc.; and that of the chief Auraham at 7,000; and that of Samano at 4,000.
Beth Mariggo[a]	1800	50	60	9500	[c] Besides the property of Khiyyo, valued at 50,000 Tc.; also the property of Audishu, valued at 5,000 Tc.
Mabbuaa . .	1500	35	64	4000	[d] Also the property of Melek Deelo, and of the chief Zarwanda, valued severally at 4,000 and 2,000 Tc.
Dâdosh . .	4500	120	150	14000	[e] Also the property of Sulmo and Shimmon valued at 7000 Tc.
Ko . . .	3500	90	70	5500	[f] Besides the property of Meleks Barkho, Chicco, Hasaddo, and of the priest Jindo, valued at 8,500 Tcerkhies.
Chamba[b] .	8000	100	200	30600	
Kalayâtha . .	3000	80	160	16100	
Athra d'Roomta[c]	8000	180	400	22000	
Siadhòr . .	1000	30	53	3500	
Serspeedho .	3000	150	160	8000	
Asheetha . .	20000	1500	500	31500	
Zaweetha .	3000	500	160	13500	
Minyânish . .	2500	400	140	15500	
Five villages of Lagippa[d] .	18000	200	550	27000	
Mâtha d'Kasra Leezan[e] . . Zerni . .	16000	220	560	30000	
Beth Rawolé .	120	100	200	10000	
Salabeken and Be-Alâtha[f] .	330	260	600	31500	

Besides the property of Mar Shimoon, valued at 50,000 Tcerkhies.

Not one church has been left standing in either of these two districts, and scarcely a house in the above mentioned villages.

All the chiefs of Tyari were killed in the massacre, besides 3,000 laymen, thirty priests, and sixty deacons, Mar Shimoon's brother Kasha Sâdok, his nephew Jesse, his mother, and many of his retainers.

After the attack upon Tyari, Noorallah Beg exacted from the mountain Nestorians the following sums :

From the province of	Jelu . .	30,000	Tcerkhies
,, ,,	Bâz . .	15,000	do.
,, ,,	Tehoma .	10,000	do.

* A *Tcerkhi* is about ten pence sterling.

PROVINCE OF DEZ.

Places.	*Sheep.*	*Oxen.*	*Muskets.*	*Church and house property in Tcerkhies.*	*Remarks.*
Golozor[a] . .	3500	320	85	6500	[a] Besides the property of Melek Neesan, valued at 2,500 Tc.
Soowwa . .	500	90	25	1660	
Koorsen . .	1300	220	67	3870	
Chiri-Châra[b] .	4500	160	350	10000	[b] Besides the property of Melek Oda, valued at 5,000 Tc.
Mâdes . .	800	190	54	2000	
Mar Kuriakòs.	450	75	23	1350	
Choolchan . .	760	60	26	4300	
Akôsé . .	1360	180	94	2900	
Beth Shammâsha[c]	1600	250	115	5100	[c] Besides the property of the chief Nakhwâshu, valued at 3,500 Tc.
Sarâmos . .	700	150	55	2960	
Rabban dad'Yeshua	100	30	6	800	
Makeeta . .	300	60	20	1100	
Number of persons killed in Dez .				850	

After our departure, Mar Shimoon continued to correspond with me on the state of his affairs. A fresh trouble vexed him about this time, occasioned by the proceedings of the American Independent Missionaries at Ooroomiah, who had printed a number of tracts contrary to the doctrines of the Nestorians, one of which against Baptismal regeneration, was put into his hands before we left Mosul. The Patriarch thus expressed his sentiments on this subject in a letter which I received before leaving Constantinople: "We would further make you acquainted with what has just happened at Ooroomiah among the Americans who are residing there. A serious quarrel has taken place between the Bishops and the citizens on the one side, and the Americans on the other, on account of the improper conduct of the latter in the said town. This led to a council of the zealous and true shepherds with their rational sheep, and they closed up and disbanded the vain schools which the Americans had established at Ooroomiah. We have moreover written to them a letter under our seal, that the schools remain closed, and that the Americans be sent from thence." He then goes on to beg, that the Church of England should send missionaries to undertake the education of his people in Ooroomiah, expressing his anxiety lest the Romanists should enter into his flock and lead many over to the errors of the Papacy. Nearly about the same time, the two American missionaries at Mosul requested per-

mission of Mar Shimoon to open schools in the mountains, which he refused. The Americans abandoned Mosul shortly after.

With regard to the Commissioners appointed to examine into the sufferings of the Nestorians, Mar Shimoon complained bitterly of their inattention to the interests of his people. Nothing further had been effected in their behalf up to the month of July, 1844, when Kemal Effendi proceeded to Baghdad, where he was joined shortly after by Mr. R. Stevens, who remained there for six months, acting as British Consul during the temporary absence of Major Rawlinson. His letter on this subject contains some startling disclosures, which I shall suppress for the present, and merely give the following quotation: "There are still forty captives in the possession of Bedr Khan Beg, which the Commissioners have knowingly left there. . . . . Neither has Bedr Khan Beg, up to the present time removed his Mutsellim from Asheetha, and the people of Tyari are scattered about here and there, for the Coords will not allow them to live in their homes in peace. A young child also was brought hither among the captives from Diarbekir, the only child of his mother, and she is a widow; this child has been taken by Kemal Effendi, who has made him a Mussulman, instead of returning him to his afflicted parents, who vainly wept for many nights and days by the shade of . . . . . and Kemal Effendi, that she might regain her son. This child is not more than three years old, and can know neither the Saviour nor Mohammed." In March, 1845, the Commission was recalled, not one whit of the plundered property had been restored, the Coords still kept possession of the Tyari, the Nestorians continued to be wanderers, and the Patriarch, though anxious to leave, and most unjustly blamed for his desire to join his people in Persia, was detained in virtual imprisonment at Mosul. For my own part, I am fully convinced that the Turks, sensible of their own weakness, had all along abstained from seriously remonstrating against the proceedings of Bedr Khan Beg, and that being anxious to extend their rule throughout central Coordistan, they regarded with secret complacency, the late dissensions among the Coords and Nestorians,—dissensions which their own policy had fomented,—foreseeing that these would lead eventually to the weakening of the mountain tribes, and pave the way to the es-

tablishment of the Sultan's authority where as yet it was recognised only in name. In order to give a colouring of sincerity to their professions of sympathy for the Nestorians, as well as to get rid of the importunity of the foreign ambassadors, who had espoused their cause, a Commissioner was sent out to inquire into the origin and consequences of the late disasters; but it is clear from the after proceedings of this functionary, that he was instructed what line of policy to pursue. The reports of the Commission, so far as they are known, imputed to the Nestorians the blame of having instigated the massacre, and in proportion as this decision tended to exculpate the Coordish Emeers, in that degree did it seem to warrant the cowardly leniency of the Turks towards them. The whole history of this affair is a sad specimen of the shameful intrigue, and base expediency of the Ottoman government.

Matters remained in this state till the month of September, 1846, when Bedr Khan Beg threatened the district of Tehoma, to the east of the Tyari, with a new massacre, declaring that in this attack he would spare neither men, women, nor children. In the mean time every species of exaction was practised upon the vanquished Nestorians, and no effect whatever was made on the part of the government to restrain the tyranny of the barbarous Coords. The Porte has promised that in compensation for their losses, the Nestorians should be exempted from taxation for a certain length of time; notwithstanding this assurance Bedr Khan Beg had levied the annual capitation tax from them twice, and Noorallah Beg once during the current year. Tired and wearied out with the fruitless negotiations made in behalf of his people, Mar Shimoon requested permission of Tayar Pasha of Mosul to proceed to the Berwari, but was refused on the ground that the country was not yet sufficiently settled to allow him to reside there in safety. He had now been a refugee for upwards of three years, and his diocese, as may be imagined, was in the greatest confusion: many of the villages were destitute of clergy, the churches had been defiled and could not be used for Divine Service until they had been re-consecrated by the Patriarch, and his flock were importuning him to return to put in order the things that remained. Added to this nothing had been effected towards his restoration, nothing in behalf of

the Nestorians beyond the release of a great part of the captives, and he saw no prospect that any good could be effected by his continuing any longer separated from his people. Writing to me of his affairs, he said: "It is our intention to leave and seek an asylum wherever peace is to be found; for it is far better for us to be there and take charge of our Church in a cave of the earth, or even in a cell, until the time of our death." His forcible detention at Mosul appears to have affected his mind as well as his body, and he gave himself up to the deepest melancholy. In the month of October, however, he secretly effected his escape, with the intention of proceeding immediately to Tehoma; but on hearing that the Coordish forces had already invaded that district, he retired to Amedia, where he was recaptured and brought back to Mosul under a military escort. The Pasha, who is still spoken of by the natives as a benevolent man, and who seemed to sympathize with the venerable Christian Bishop in his troubles, received him kindly, and readily overlooked this act of disobedience.

The intelligence that the Coords had actually invaded Tehoma was too true. In the month of October the united forces of Bedr Khan Beg and Noorallah Beg entered that district, and committed ravages too horrible to be related. On my visit to Mar Shimoon in 1850, he gave me the following details of this fresh massacre. It appears that when they were apprised of the meditated attack, the people of Tehoma applied to the Pasha of Mosul for protection; but all that he attempted was to send an expostulatory message to Bedr Khan Beg: that proud chief treated it with the greatest indifference, telling him at the same time that he had no right to meddle in his affairs. The Nestorians then accepted the offer of the Agha of Teal to protect their women and children pending the expected affray, which being accepted, they were all sent to him under an escort; but the traitor having apprised Ziner Beg of their coming, the latter waylaid the party, and three hundred women and as many children were brutally put to the sword in one indiscriminate slaughter; only two girls who were left for dead on the field escaped to relate the sad tale of this horrible tragedy.

The Coords then attacked the men, who had taken up a most disadvantageous position in a valley, where they were soon sur-

rounded by their enemies, and after fighting bravely for two hours gave up the contest. Numbers were killed in attempting to escape, and as many as one hundred prisoners, mostly women and children, were afterwards taken from the houses, which were then fired by the Coords, as were the trees and other cultivation in the neighbourhood. These unfortunate victims were then brought before Noorallah Beg and the lieutenant governor of Jezeerah, as they sat near one of the churches, and heard their doom pronounced by those blood-thirsty barbarians: "Make an end of them," said they; "the English Consul at Mosul cannot release them from the grave." A few of the girls, remarkable for their beauty, were spared, the rest were immediately seized and put to death. During this invasion about five hundred Nestorians were murdered, all the villages of Tchoma were destroyed, the churches were razed, the rituals were burned, and the few remaining villagers crossed the frontier and sought safety and support among their brethren in Persia.

After this new outrage the Porte was strongly sued by the foreign representatives, and especially by the Hon. H. Wellesley, the then British Chargé d'Affaires, to put an end to the power of the Coordish Emeers, and Nazim Effendi was sent out as special commissioner to propose that Bedr Khan Beg should go to the capital. There is ground for believing that the expostulations of the Allied Powers were on this occasion backed with something resembling a threat, otherwise I doubt whether the Turks would even then have proceeded to take the steps they did. Had a similar tone been assumed when the first massacre occurred, the annals of humanity would not have been disgraced with such outrages as were suffered to be perpetrated with impunity upon the Nestorian Christians for four successive years; the courts of Europe have bearded the Turks for acts of infinitely less importance, ay, and that too when, diplomatically speaking, the matter in question involved as great an interference with the internal administration of this infidel semi-barbarous government as a zealous protection of the lives and property of the mountain Christians would have been. But even up to this point the Turks seem to have been desirous of avoiding any coercive measures, and would gladly have found an excuse for not employing them. Nazim Effendi espoused the cause of

Bedr Khan Beg, and publicly defended the aggressions of the Coords as a just punishment of the Nestorians for having murdered a whole village of Mohammedans,—a base fabrication similar to that which was got up to vindicate the massacre of 1843. But if the Porte hoped to effect by treachery (such as they had practised towards the Coordish Pasha of Rawandooz, whom they directed to be poisoned after they had invested him with authority over his native province,) what they feared to attempt by force, the refusal of Bedr Khan Beg to go to the capital unless the Turkish government acceded to certain conditions of his own propounding balked their pusillanimous policy. In the meantime this indomitable chieftain continued his persecution of the Christians with unabated vigour, and about this junction ordered Mutran Gheorghees, one of the Jacobite Bishops of Jebel Toor, and two priests who had accompanied him to Jezeerah to complain of the exactions of their Coordish neighbours, to be severely beaten and cast into prison. The aged Bishop, who is still remembered with affection by his mountain flock, died in the dungeon from the effects of the brutal treatment which he had received, and his body was thrown out to the Christians with this inhuman speech: "Give it the burial of a dog."

The Turks being now deprived of their last subterfuge were finally driven to meditate an attack upon the confederate Coordish Emeers, who on their part prepared to offer an obstinate resistance. Detachments of troops were ordered from Kharpoot and Urfah, the Pasha of Diarbekir garrisoned Radhwân, one of his frontier towns bordering on Buhtân, the Pasha of Erzeroom took similar precautions on the north, and the Pasha of Mosul collected a strong force to co-operate, if necessary, with the military tactics of the commander-in-chief. Other proposals were now made to Bedr Khan Beg to go to the capital, and at one time it was thought that he would have consented; but the Coords stoutly opposed the measure, and declared that they would die rather than lose their chief. The warlike preparations of the Turks, however, had a powerful effect upon some of the Emeers, and one named Ardesheer Beg made his escape to Mosul, leaving his brothers in command of two strong fortresses, which formed a part of his hereditary possessions in

Buhtân. The numerous retainers of these chiefs sided with them in their defection, and thus considerably weakened Bedr Khan Beg's confederates, who nevertheless were still determined to test the strength of their antagonists. The first skirmish between the two opposing parties took place near Jezeerah, and a few of the combatants were killed on both sides. The Coords then attacked the enemy's camp by night, and committed great havoc among the Turks, but the latter rallying in time charged the assailants, entirely routed them, and forthwith proceeded to invest Deir Gooli, Bedr Khan Beg's stronghold, which surrendered at discretion. The Emeer himself was engaged in the attack upon the Turkish camp, and fled from the field accompanied by a troop of his irregular horse. The next engagement took place a little below Sert, where Ziner Beg and Khan Mahmood of Van fell upon the Erzeroom division, but were repulsed with great loss, and many were driven into the river and either shot or drowned in attempting to escape. The Coords are said to have fought bravely, but the advantage of numbers, arms, and ammunition, was on the side of their antagonists. When they had no other resource they rushed upon the Turks with their short daggers, and seldom or never asked for quarter.

These defeats were soon followed by the submission of several Coordish tribes, and Noorallah Beg, on receiving a promise that his life should be spared, surrendered himself to the Turkish general. Bedr Khan Beg shortly followed his example, and the war was at an end. It is stated that while a prisoner in the enemy's camp the Emeer dressed himself in the Nizam costume, and wore on his breast the decoration which he had formerly received from the Sultan. Osman Pasha on perceiving this ordered him immediately to put on his Coordish clothes, and not to disgrace the sovereign's uniform. Some time after this occurrence all the rebel chiefs were led through the streets of Jezeerah, chained and mounted on horses, previous to their being taken to Constantinople; and it is some little consolation to know, that little fear need be entertained of their being let loose from their ignominious exile,—Bedr Khan Beg in Candia, and the other notorious abettors of his tyranny in other parts of western Turkey,—again to persecute and destroy the Christians of central Coordistan.

Just after the defeat of the Coords Mar Shimoon effected his escape a second time from the Nestorian village of Shermen, whither he had gone for a change of air. The death of his favourite sister at Mosul, and the intelligence which had reached him of the decease of another of his brothers, together with the long train of misfortunes and disappointments which had fallen to his lot during his exile from home, preyed upon his mind, and almost drove him to madness. Added to all this he had nothing to hope for from the Turks, nor could he tell when they would choose to set him free, so he took advantage of the opportunity which the permission to visit the villages near Mosul afforded him, and fled into Persia to his Church and people. The Coordish power being effectually broken, the Porte annexed the Tyari and Hakkari country to the pashalic of Diarbekir, and committed it to the jurisdiction of Asaad Pasha, its present governor. Bash Kala, Julamerk, and a few other places were garrisoned by the Sultan's troops, and Turkish Mutsellims were appointed to administer justice in other parts of the mountains. As soon as tranquillity was restored Mar Shimoon returned to his home at Kochânes, after an absence of five years; no compensation had been made to the Nestorians for their losses, the Patriarch was not officially recognised by the Porte, and he continues to exercise his spiritual jurisdiction with no other sanction than the love and ready obedience of his impoverished adherents.

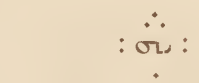
CHAPTER XXIV.

Letters from Mar Shimoon.—Departure for the Tyari.—Native ideas respecting the excavations at Nineveh.—Nestorian service at Amedia.—Doori and Mar Yeshua-yau the Bishop of Berwari.—Journey to Leezan.—Meeting with old friends.—Grateful conduct of a Nestorian girl.—Present condition of the mountain Christians.—Start for Be Alâtha.—Meeting with the Patriarch.—Return to Leezan and journey to Goonduk.—Night in a Nestorian convent.—Repose.

The principal changes which had taken place among the different Christian communities up to the date of our second arrival at Mosul have already been related in the foregoing narrative. After relinquishing this station for five years the American Independents have lately sent a missionary to the Syrian Jacobites, who has succeeded in proselyting a few individuals from that body. After vainly using every endeavour to induce them not to frequent the religious meetings of the missionary, Mutran Behnâm excommunicated them, and thus the matter remains for the present. It is but just to add that the two American gentlemen who were successively engaged in this work, frequently expressed their anxiety not to create a schism among the Syrians; but a single glance at the doctrines, Church discipline, and ritual order of the latter, compared with the principles of the Independents, will show that this is a chimera. The missionaries have opened a rival chapel and a school, where, if honest men, they will undoubtedly inculcate their own doctrines; and this they desire to do with the approbation of the Bishop of the diocese! Of course none of the recognized ecclesiastical authorities can assent to any such proceedings unless they are convinced of the orthodoxy of the missionaries, or unless they are paid to sanction their operations. Now it is well known that the Bishops and

clergy generally are strongly opposed to every form of Protestant dissent, and the missionaries on their part are not likely to bribe them to acquiescence. Thus, then, if the American Independents continue their efforts in these parts, they must form schisms in the ancient communities of the East.

After we had been at Mosul some time, I wrote to apprise Mar Shimoon of our arrival, and received from him the two following epistles:



"Mar Shimoon, Catholicos and Patriarch of the East unto thee our beloved and elect presbyter George, sendeth greeting, with numberless and endless salutations. Amen.

"Be it known unto you, that the epistle which you sent reached us in safety, and we read it throughout, and understood perfectly all that it contained; thereby we were made acquainted with your arrival at the blessed city of Mosul, and we rejoiced at this with exceeding great joy; for the benevolence and love which you showed towards us, O presbyter George, are not wiped out from the tablets of our hearts. For these things we can never recompense you, but we pray that God may reward you thirty, sixty, and a hundred fold. Being at a great distance when we heard of your coming, we longed earnestly to come and see you; but weakness prevents us from enjoying this pleasure. Known unto us are the tokens of your affection and sincere goodwill which you manifested towards us when we were with you. And this we beg of you, that you will accept this expression of our gratitude; may your coming again into these parts be doubly blessed, O our elect brother, and be a source of delight to all those who rejoice in it. May God perfect your health, fill you with joy, make you happy all the days of your life, increase your years to hundreds. Your wisdom will make up for all imperfections [in this epistle.]

"And also to our lady sister the noble-minded wife of presbyter George, Mar Shimoon, Catholicos and Patriarch of the East, sendeth greeting with endless and unlimited salutation.

"Be it known unto you that we were greatly rejoiced when

we heard of your arrival at Mosul; for though we ourselves are weak and sickly, yet your coming has given us real pleasure, and blessed are those who shall see and look upon you. We, indeed, should be over-rejoiced to behold you once more, and to express all our delight; but we are far away. The God of peace be with you, and make you to rejoice evermore, that you may lead a quiet and peaceable life even as you do now. Amen.

"Written on the fourteenth of December, in the year 2161, [A.D. 1849.]"

L. S.

"He who is through his ordination high and exalted, and through his investiture with his holy office known unto God and to His Church, our beloved and revered presbyter George, the mirror of the priesthood; may the right hand of the Creator of the world watch over him now and for ever and ever. Amen.

"Mar Shimoon the Catholicos inquires after your welfare, and is greatly desirous to see you, even as Joseph longed to see his brother Benjamin. We were deeply grieved when you left us, and now that you have returned from a far-distant country our joy is as unbounded as Jacob's was when he heard that his son Joseph lived. Indeed we long to see you, but are prevented: 1st, On account of our old age; 2nd, On account of sickness; 3rd, Because of the care and vexation which come upon us from those near and from those at a distance; 4th, From the danger and impracticability of the roads; 5th, On account of our infirmity. Therefore we send Meerza our attendant to inquire after the health of your body, the reverence of your office, the sincerity of your friendship, the sweetness of your words, and the grace of your walk. And this is enough for your wisdom."

L. S.

A strong desire to see Mar Shimoon once more, and also to obtain from him certain Syriac MSS. required in the compila-

tion of the second volume of this work, induced me to undertake another visit to the mountain Nestorians. Mr. R. Clive, who together with the Hon. Mr. Herbert, had been spending a few days at Mosul, and who intended to travel to Trebizond through central Coordistan, having kindly promised to take a portrait of the Patriarch for me in case he happened to be in their route, I preceded those gentlemen by one day in order to make arrangements for the interview. Accompanied by Kas Michael, and Habeeb an excellent Beyroot servant, I left the Tigris on the 3rd of April, 1850; the weather was now delightfully cool and pleasant, the fields were smiling with abundance, and the air was perfumed with the fragrance of the wild flowers which decked our path with their rich and gaudy colouring. The Khoser being swollen at this season of the year we passed to the east of Koyoonjuk, where the Arabs were still engaged in excavating the relics of ancient Nineveh. Mr. Layard and his party were absent at the time on a visit to the Khaboor, (the Chebar of Ezekiel and the Chaboras of the Romans,) where they expected to find a new treasure of Assyrian remains. "What do you want these stones and sculptures for?" inquired our muleteer. I endeavoured to satisfy his curiosity; but the idea of their historical value was far beyond his comprehension. "And do you wish to persuade me," continued he, "that you are taking so much trouble, and spending so much money, to know who built these palaces, and when and why they were built?" "Such is the truth," I replied; "but what is your idea on the subject." "Why," said he, "I think two things: first, that you wish to learn from the inscriptions where all the treasures of those old kings are hid; and, secondly, that you intend to send the sculptures and images to your subjects in India, who are idolaters as the people who erected these palaces were, and you will make a pretty penny by the trade, for these idols being so ancient will doubtless be held in high veneration by the infidels of Hindostan." Reason and argument are very poor weapons to combat prejudices like these; we can only smile at the simplicity which they indicate, and pass on, as our party did towards Telkèf, where we put up for the night.

It would weary rather than interest the reader were I to describe our present route to Amedia, since it varied little from that

taken on our journey to the Tyari in 1843, except that on this occasion we visited several Nestorian villages in the Supna between Daoodia and Amedia, which will be found noted on the map. We reached the latter place in four days' ride from Mosul, and soon forgot before a cheerful fire, and in friendly chattings with our old friend Kasha Mendu, the discomfort of having travelled for three hours through a drenching rain.

We had not been seated long before the few Nestorians of the town came to visit us: men, women, and children, seemed to rejoice at seeing us again, and anxiously inquired whether we did not now intend to reside in the country, and to leave them no more. I found them still in the same depressed condition as they had been formerly, both temporally and spiritually, but as eager as ever that an English priest should settle among them. The day following being Sunday I went to their little chapel, which has been described in a former chapter, and was present during the afternoon service. Twelve men and two women composed the congregation. On one side of the rude lectern stood Kasha Mendu holding in his hand one half of the open ritual, while a little boy opposite to him supported the other half. In front were two deacons, one with a lighted taper in his hand, which he ever and anon trimmed to enable the rest to see what they were reading. These formed the choir: the priest precented, the deacons and child responded, and the congregation joined in as well as they were able. The prayers and anthems ended, Kasha Mendu first kissed the book of the holy Gospels, the rest followed his example, and then the kiss of peace was passed from one to another. After this all stood with uncovered heads, and bent bodies, to receive the benediction of their pastor, which was pronounced with great fervour. A perfect silence followed, during which the worshippers seemed to be engaged in private prayer; but now and then I heard such ejaculations as these: "Lord, hear us!" "Lord, accept our petitions!" "Lord, bless us!" Before the people dispersed, each came forward to kiss the hand of the priest, and they testified their gratitude for his ministrations by these and similar expressions: "The Lord give thee the kingdom of heaven!" "The Lord reward thee a hundred fold!" "The Lord bless thee now and for ever!"

It was a deeply affecting sight during the prayers to see the

priest with uplifted hands, and with his face turned towards the east, standing before his flock, and supplicating GOD to pardon and to bless them. Scarcely one present, perhaps, knew what he was praying for; but they seemed to realize that it was for their good, and occasionally supported his earnest intercession in their behalf with an audible "Amen," or with the invocation taken from the liturgy: "Give Thy blessing, O LORD." Throughout the service the rain dripped from the roof of the miserable room in which these poor people were assembled, and the floor beneath them was literally covered with mud. What a contrast does this spectacle present to the comfortable appurtenances of our modern churches, pews, cushions, fires, &c.

Within the last two or three years, that is to say, since the annual pecuniary grants made to the Eastern Bishops from the Society of Lyons and the Propaganda have been suspended, the Latins and Chaldeans have relaxed their missionary efforts, and have drawn over but few proselytes from among the Nestorians of the Supna; on the other hand many of the later seceders have returned to their community, and now recognize Mar Shimoon as their Patriarch. But the Nestorians have much to struggle against in this district: they are generally very poor, many of their churches are in ruins, and the local authorities will not allow them to rebuild them without a firman from the Sultan, and they have no means of procuring this sanction. Added to this the Coords continue to oppress them in various ways, and seem determined that they shall not prosper.

April 9th.—Started from Amedia at 10 A.M. accompanied by Kasha Mendu's brother as our guide. We had some trouble in getting through the Geli Mezurka on account of the Soolava stream, which was now so swollen, and rushed with such impetuosity down the narrow and rugged gorge, that our mules were more than once in danger of being carried away. The summit of the Tcah Meteenah was still covered with snow, and we were obliged to walk to the small Nestorian village of Hayyis, where we were joined by a priest who had come thither from Doori to conduct the church services of the preceding Sunday. Our course was now more to the east, over a rough and stony road, towards Beit Tannoori, a large Jewish village situated on the banks of the Bedu rivulet, which we forded with great difficulty,

and at 5 P.M. reached Doori, where we were kindly received into the house of Mar Yeshua-yau, the Nestorian Bishop of Berwari.

The Episcopal residence consists of one long semi-subterranean apartment and a few outhouses, built in the mouth of a ravine a short distance from the village. Several dried skins and large earthen bins filled with rice, wheat, and butter, a few agricultural implements, cooking utensils, wooden bowls, and rolls of bedding, formed the domestic furniture. The Bishop's sister and two or three other relatives and their children were inmates of the same dwelling, and occupied the upper end of the room, which served as store, nursery, and kitchen, for the whole family. The Bishop himself was at vespers in the church of Mar Kayyoma when we arrived, but he came shortly afterwards and gave us a hearty welcome. He was dressed in a pair of brown woollen *shalwar*, or wide trowsers, a jacket of the same material, and a felt cap bound round with a small black turban. He was followed by several of his people, who made themselves quite at home in his house, squatted near the fire, smoked their pipes, and took part in the conversation with the greatest freedom. Nevertheless they paid him every token of respect, lighted his pipe, listened attentively whenever he spoke, and seemed to vie with each other who should do his bidding. The Bishop gave me a sad account of his diocese, and complained bitterly of the oppression of the Coords, who have driven away many of his people from their villages, and taken possession of their lands and property. I inquired why he did not represent these proceedings to the Mutsellim of Amedia. "Of what use would that be?" said he; "the governors are all Moslems, and never attend to our grievances, and our persecutors who surround us only vex us the more for having dared to seek redress." I spoke to him about the education of his people, to which the poor man replied, "Come, come; we shall be glad to welcome you, our churches shall be open to you, you may establish schools amongst us, and I will see that my people obey you. Perhaps your coming may free us from the tyranny of the infidels, but as for ourselves we can do nothing; we have barely bread enough to eat, we cannot procure books, we hardly dare worship GOD in our churches, and what would the Coords say if

we were to begin to instruct our children? They have already destroyed by their tyranny more than one-half of the Nestorian population of this district, and they will not be satisfied until they have entirely exterminated us." The old man's eyes filled with tears as he narrated the sufferings of his flock, and every attempt made on our part to console him was in vain. "I shall soon sleep with my fathers," said he, "beneath the shadow of Mar Kayyoma; I shall go down to the grave in sorrow, but if there are good days yet in store for my flock, I pray GOD to send them upon these [pointing to the Nestorians present], and upon their children." Oh, the withering curse of Islâm!

Besides the village church, there is another at Doori dedicated to Mar Kayyoma, and situated high up in the gorge behind the Bishop's house. This latter consists chiefly of a natural cave so disposed with the addition of masonry as to form three aisles, one of which is used as a vestry. This church is regarded with great veneration by the Nestorians, as being the first Christian temple built in the Berwari district. Notwithstanding the distance from his house and the ruggedness of the road, the aged Bishop walks thither three times a day, early in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, to attend public prayers. Dr. Grant describes the person of Mar Yeshua-yau and his visit to Mar Kayyoma in these words: "The Bishop, who is a most patriarchal personage with a long white beard, was very cordial, and took me into his venerable church, a very ancient structure, made by enlarging a natural cave by means of heavy stone walls in front of the precipitous rock. It stood far up on the side of the mountain, and within it was as dark as midnight. The attentive old Bishop took my hand and guided it to a plain stone cross which lay upon the altar, supposing I would manifest my veneration or devotional feelings, after their own custom, by pressing it to my lips. I must confess that there is something affecting in this simple outward expression as practised by the Nestorians, who mingle with it none of the image worship, or the other corrupt observances of the Roman Catholic Church. May it not be that the abuse of such symbols by the votaries of the Roman See has carried us Protestants to the other extreme, when we utterly condemn the simple memento of the cross?"*

* The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes, p. 52.

April 10*th.*—We left Doori at 8 A.M., and commenced the toilsome ascent of the high mountain range which separated us from the Tyari country. Here a scene indescribably grand was spread out before us, which I cannot depict better than by borrowing the beautiful language of the author just quoted, intermingled as it is with the noble aspirations of a devoted missionary: "The country of the independent Nestorians opened before my enraptured vision like a vast amphitheatre of wild precipitous mountains, broken with deep dark looking defiles and narrow glens, into few of which the eye could penetrate so far as to gain a distinct view of the cheerful smiling villages, which have long been the secure abodes of the main body of the Nestorian Church. Here was the home of a hundred thousand Christians, around whom the arm of Omnipotence had reared the adamantine ramparts, whose lofty snow-capped summits seemed to blend with the skies in the distant horizon. Here, in their munition of rocks, has GOD preserved, as if for some great end in the economy of His grace, a chosen remnant of His ancient Church, safe from the flames of persecution, and the clangour of war. [How changed is the condition of the poor Nestorians since these lines were written!]

"I retired to a sequestered pinnacle of rock, where I could feast my vision with the sublime spectacle, and pour out my heartfelt gratitude that I had been brought at length, through many perils, to behold a country from which emanated the brightest beams of hope for the long benighted empire of Mohammedan delusion, by whose millions of votaries I was surrounded on every side. My thoughts went back to the days when the Nestorian missionaries were spread abroad throughout the East, and for more than a thousand years continued to plant and sustain the standard of the cross through the remote and barbarous countries of central Asia, Tartary, Mongolia, and China, to the time when, as tradition and history alike testify, the Gospel standard was reared in these mountains by Apostles' hands, for it was not from Nestorians, but from Thomas, Bartholomew, Thaddeus, and others, that this people first received the knowledge of a SAVIOUR.

"I looked at them in their present state, sunk down into the

ignorance of semi-barbarism, and the light of vital piety almost extinguished upon their altars, and my heart bled for their condition. But Hope pointed her radiant wand to brighter scenes, when all these glens, and rocks, and vales, shall echo and re-echo to the glad praises of our GOD, and, like a morning star, these Nestorians shall arise to usher in a glorious and resplendent day. But ere that bright period shall arrive, there is a mighty work to be done,—a conflict with the powers of darkness before the shout of victory. Let us arm this brave hand to the contest.

"Onward to the work! and onward I sped my course down the steep declivity of the mountain, now cautiously climbing over the rocks which obstructed our course, now resting my weary limbs under the inviting shade of a wild pear tree, and anon, mounted on my hardy mule, winding along our narrow zig-zag pathway, over the mountain spurs, and down, far down to the banks of the rolling, noisy, dashing Zab. Here lay one of the large populous villages of the independent Nestorians, which extended amid fertile gardens for more than a mile in length."*

This was the village of Leezan, which we reached at 4 P. M., the road thereto, so graphically described by Dr. Grant, having been rendered still more toilsome and dangerous by the rain, which descended in torrents during the day. We were hospitably welcomed by Kash' Audishu, one of the priests who had lived with us for some months at Mosul after the massacre of 1843, and by many of the villagers who had known us under similar circumstances, and now eagerly pressed forward to testify their gratitude. Each had his little tale to relate, as to how he had fared since the general return of the refugees to their homes, and these for the most part were tales of sorrow. The Nestorians are only just beginning to recover from the effects of the Coordish invasion, and the drawback of poverty is increased by the conduct of the tax-gatherers and other Turkish officials, who traverse the country in every direction. The *kharâj*, or humiliation tax, payable by all Christians in the empire, is now levied from the mountaineers with the greatest severity, and the higher rates are often imposed upon those who have absolutely

* The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes, pp. 53—56.

no means of defraying them.* The tax-gatherers, moreover, frequently give the poor people *teskerés*, or receipts, for the preceding year, (by which artifice they pocket the money themselves,) and should they happen to go into a different district, or another official be appointed to their own, they are generally called upon to produce these vouchers, and forced to pay a second time. The villagers assured me that the proceedings of these officials were vexatious in the extreme. They always come accompanied by several followers, take possession of the best houses during their stay, make the most preposterous demands upon them for luxuries which they never heard of, eat up their stock of provisions, and on leaving, give them a piastre or two, so as to be able to say that they paid for their entertainment, according to the requirements of the *Tanzeemât !* It is possible, indeed, that conduct such as this may not be sanctioned by the governor of Bash Kala ; but no Nestorian would dare to complain of it, lest he should bring down upon himself the vengeance of these Turks, who are for the most part uneducated unprincipled men, promoted to office by the favouritism of the Pashas from amongst their orderlies, pipe-bearers, or coffee-makers. Only very lately, a circumstance occurred which, had not God mercifully thwarted the wicked designs of the conspirators, might have been attended with serious consequences to the Nestorians. It appears that two of these tax-gatherers had been sent by the government to collect the *kharâj* from the villages of lower Tyari. The subaltern officer entered into a compact with two of his followers to do away with their superior, and to lay the blame upon Mar Shimoon and the Nestorians of the district. Just as the scheme was matured and about to be executed, one of the accomplices disclosed the plot, and thus saved the Christians from what would readily have been construed into a just ground for some fresh act of tyranny and oppression.

Hearing that Mar Shimoon was then at Be-Rawolé, about six hours distant, I despatched a messenger to inform him of our arrival, and requesting him to send me the Ordination services of the Nestorians. We then chatted with the villagers

* The *Kharâj* is fixed at three different rates, viz., fifteen, thirty, and sixty piastres, equal to about three, six, and twelve shillings sterling.

about their hopes and fears, and prospects, till past midnight, and retired to rest thoroughly worn out with the adventures of the day.

April 11*th*.—To-day we had the pleasure of welcoming Messrs. Clive and Herbert, who reached Leezan about noon, and took up their abode with us in the house of Kash' Audishu. Shortly after, a Nestorian girl came in carrying a satchel on her shoulder, which she laid at my feet, then took my hand and affectionately kissed it. The features and voice were not new to me, but I was puzzled at first to know who it was that addressed me. Some of the by-standers pronounced the name of "Rendi," and I at once recognised in her one of the liberated captive children, whose winning manners had so affected Mrs. Badger when she was first brought from Jezeerah, that she had been taken into our house, and treated as one of the family up to the time of our departure from Mosul. She had heard of my arrival while at Minyanish her native village, and had walked three hours through the snow, carrying with her a present of raisins, walnuts, and eggs, in token of her gratitude. She had grown but little in stature, though now about thirteen years old, but there was the same calmness in her look, the same unaffected simplicity in her carriage, the same attractive sweetness in her voice. Sitting opposite to me, she gazed wistfully into my face, and seemed to be calling to mind the days of her slavery and subsequent deliverance, until the tears gushed from her eyes. "How is my dear lady," said she, "who was so good to me; who was to me better than a mother? How is the lady of the Consul, your sister, whom the Nestorians will ever bless? The Lord bless them; the Lord give them the kingdom of heaven!" There was something so touching, so simple, so sincere, in this expression of gratitude that I could not answer her . . . . . Before we finally left Leezan, she came once more to bid me farewell, and to send her salutations to my sister and Mrs. Badger at Mosul.

In the afternoon a messenger arrived from Mar Shimoon, bringing with him the book which I had asked for, and an earnest request that we would meet him the day following at Be-Alâtha, whither he intended to go from Be-Rawolé. Kas Michael and I spent the greater part of the night in translating

the Ordination offices, and at 8 A. M. on the following morning, accompanied by Messrs. Clive and Herbert, my servant Habeeb, and two Nestorian guides, we set off on our pedestrian excursion. The Zab was so swollen that it could not be forded, and the wicker bridge which spans the river near Leezan being impassable to beasts of burden, we were obliged to walk, and a wearisome journey it proved. We crossed the bridge just below the Coordish village of Ghemani, and traversed the rugged and precipitous banks of the river, which is here hemmed in by inaccessible mountains. In less than an hour we left the Zab, and commenced the toilsome ascent of the precipice before us. Arrived at the summit, a spectacle of imposing grandeur burst upon our view. Behind us through the gorge of the Zab, we saw the village of Leezan, smiling in all the freshness of spring; beneath us a deep valley clothed with forest wood; and all around mountains upon mountains reared their towering and snowy heads, seeming to claim kindred with the sky. Continuing our journey over a narrow pathway leading along the sloping sides of the valley, we reached the Nestorian village of Mâtha d' Kasra, where we breakfasted on milk and millet-bread, and rested for an hour on the roof of one of the houses. The poor people seemed hardly to possess the necessaries of life, but made us welcome to what little they had to offer. Our route from Mâtha d'Kasra lay through a deep and stony ravine, which here and there was almost choked up with avalanches. At noon we reached Be-Alâtha, thoroughly tired with our day's excursion, and heartily glad that our journey was over. It was with the greatest difficulty that we procured any refreshment; a pot of wild turnips made into soup, with the addition of some vegetable acid, was set before us, and a few loaves of coarse mountain bread. I was too tired to eat, but Messrs. Clive and Herbert, who were good pedestrians, ventured to partake of the unsavoury dish. Our servant Habeeb, however, soon prepared us a more inviting meal, having purchased and slaughtered a sheep for the purpose, and after satisfying our hunger, we stretched ourselves upon one of the flat roofs and awaited the coming of the Patriarch.

Mar Shimoon had not yet made his appearance, but shortly after a group of men, looking like pigmies in the distance, ap-

peared on the top of the lofty mountains which separate Be-Alâtha from Be-Rawolé. At this signal all the villagers went forth, and proceeded to ascend the snow-clad sides to meet their chief. Arrived at the summit, the people from Be-Rawolé took their departure, and those from Be-Alâtha returned in single file down the steep descent followed by the Patriarch. We also walked some distance to welcome him; the procession stopped, the venerable primate took me in his arms, pressed me to his bosom, and kissed me on both cheeks. Little was said by either, my heart was too full for utterance, and making us walk before him to do us honour, we entered the house prepared for his reception, and seated ourselves by his side in an open court which was crowded with villagers. Mar Shimoon is nothing more than the wreck of his former self, care hangs heavy upon his brow, his face is furrowed with sorrow rather than with age, and his voice bespeaks the deep anguish of his spirit. His people seemed to sympathize in his sufferings; there was no sound of mirth, no demonstration of rejoicing among them; but they listened attentively as he recounted the tale of their past misfortunes, and the part which I had taken to alleviate them. It was while the Patriarch thus addressed his people, that with his permission Mr. Clive took the portrait which forms the frontispiece to the second volume of this work.

I passed several hours in conversation with Mar Shimoon, and inquired narrowly into the condition of his people under their new rulers. I may not reveal all he said, but of this I am convinced that Turkish domination will be a curse, and a heavy curse too, to the Christian mountaineers; and my sincere prayer is that God, in His mercy, will soon break the staff of Mohammedan tyranny and oppression, and free the Nestorians from its baneful slavery. "So let Thine enemies perish, O Lord; but let them that love Him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might." (Judges v. 31.)

I spoke to the Patriarch about the education of his people. "Alas!" said he, "we have not yet rebuilt our churches, most of our books have been destroyed, our fields are uncultivated for lack of cattle and implements of husbandry, the people have hardly enough to eat, and are too full of care to think of such things at present. Moreover I am not master now as I once

was; others bear rule, and will be glad when I am no more. Your Bishops sent you to us with offers of assistance, and when you were helping us they took you away, and never replied to the many letters which I addressed to them. This is God's work, and we must submit." All this was too true, and as I was not now commissioned to render him any help, I could only sympathize with him in his trouble, and endeavour to soothe the anguish of his despair.

Towards the evening we retired to a subterranean room where we all slept on the floor with the Patriarch, and early in the morning took our departure. Mar Shimoon accompanied us a short distance, and sent us away with his blessing. We returned by the same route that we had come, and in four hours found ourselves again under the hospitable roof of Kash' Audishu. The day following Messrs. Clive and Herbert started from Leczan intending to travel on foot to Julamerk, the road thither being impassable to mules or horses on account of the snows. Fifteen lusty Nestorians carried their baggage, and we saw them depart in good health and spirits upon their adventurous journey.

April 17th.—It was our intention to have penetrated into Tehoma from Leezan, but finding this impossible, we took leave of our worthy host, and retraced our steps to Zerni, and thence to Akri, a Nestorian village prettily situated on the Zab, from whence we proceeded on the following day to Amedia. Wishing to vary our former route we crossed the Supna and travelled in an easterly direction through two high mountain ranges as far as Kafià, a large Coordish village, where we put up for the night. From this we had a rugged and toilsome journey to Shermen, inhabited exclusively by Nestorians, thence to Shosh, where is a population of two hundred Jewish families, and finally to Goonduk. Here we found a Nestorian church, or convent, as it is sometimes called, dedicated to Mar Abd-Yeshua, and the usual residence of Mar Auraham, who from being a Chaldean had returned to Nestorianism during Mar Shimoon's stay at Mosul, as has been recorded in a former chapter. The Bishop was absent upon a visit to the Mezuriyeh district, but hearing that a priest and nun dwelt in the convent I sought admittance, and the door was opened to me by a little hump-backed woman

who demanded a present before she would suffer us to pass. "Are you not ashamed of yourself?" said our guide, "know you not that this is Kasha Gheorghees?" On hearing my name, the nun, for it was she, vainly sought to throw her arms round my neck, but was obliged to rest satisfied with kissing my hand, and ushering us into the interior. I then made inquiries respecting some ancient sculptures which were said to exist in the vicinity, and was conducted by the priest to a large natural cave, not far from the convent, and called by the natives "Guppa d'Mar Yohanan," or the grotto of S. John. To the left of the cave we discovered the object of our search, viz. a rock tablet bearing on its surface the representation of a man in the act of spearing a wild sheep or ibex, and beneath this a procession of six figures standing in various attitudes. The style is not unlike that of the sculptures dug up at Nimrood, but the costume is different, and may be found to belong to a distinct age and people. Mr. Layard has since visited these tablets, and will, I have no doubt, take an exact drawing of them for the benefit of science, and in pursuance of his interesting researches into the history of the Assyrian dynasty.

Ere we returned to the convent it was too late to follow Kas Michael, who had gone on to Akra with all our baggage; so we accepted the proffered hospitality of the priest and nun to pass the night at Mar Abd-Yeshua. Before dark, about twenty of the villagers from Goonduk had assembled at the convent, intending to sleep there so as to be in readiness for service in the church before daylight on the following morning. After vespers I requested the priest to explain to the people what he had been reading, but being unable he begged that I would expound to them some portion of the New Testament. I did so, and their delight was unbounded; they had often heard the same words repeated, and many of them knew them by rote, but their meaning was hidden from them in a dead language. I then made particular inquiries into the number of the Nestorians subject to Mar Auraham, the result of which will be given in the following chapter, and prepared to retire to rest. Having no bedding with me I was provided with two felts by the priest, the nun wrapped her thick veil round my feet, the only other female who had come up with the villagers added a contribution from

her dress to keep me from the cold, and I hoped, ay, vainly hoped, that I should get a few hours of refreshing slumber. One after another the men threw themselves on the floor beside me wrapped in their cloaks, and to my surprise the two women also spread their felts close by and were soon drowned in forgetfulness. I had not lain long when I discovered to my horror that my borrowed bedding swarmed with vermin, the same plague seemed to disturb the rest of the company, so that what with their snoring, scratching, and loud dreaming, I did not close my eyes the live-long night. About midnight the priest rose and called the rest to prayers, whereupon the nun protested loudly that it was too early, and bade him go to sleep again. Thinking to get rid of my companions, I seconded his motion, and the sleepers rose one after another; but to my disappointment instead of proceeding to the church, the ritual was opened, the priest and deacons stood round it, the congregation ranged themselves behind the choir, and the service commenced with such a harsh dinning noise that I at once gave up in despair all hope of rest. Before the prayers were ended, my servant and I were on horseback pursuing our onward journey through the plains of Navkoor. In two hours we reached Tâk, under Jebel Makloob, and here heard that our friends had been spending a few days in an adjoining village; so after resting awhile we rode ten miles farther, and joined them in safety at Ba-Sheaka. We remained at Ba-Sheaka for nearly two months, witnessing the religious festivities of the Yezeedees, and making inquiries into their creed, the result of which has already been given in a former chapter, and from thence proceeded to the Jacobite convent of Mar Mattai, or Sheikh Matta, where we spent the summer of 1850, and where the greater part of this volume was written.

CHAPTER XXV.

Statistics of Nestorian dioceses.—Conclusion.

The following statistical account of the Nestorian churches, clergy, and population, I have been enabled to draw up with the assistance of Mar Shimoon and his late Archdeacon Kash' Auraha. Finding by personal observation in some instances, that the number of families was exaggerated by the Patriarch, I have reduced it one third throughout.

I shall begin with the districts nearest to Mosul.

Diocese of Mar Auraham of Goonduk.

		Churches.	*Priests.*	*Families.*
Shermen	Near Akra and in the Zebâr.	1	2	30
Shosh	Near Akra and in the Zebâr.	0	0	3
Goonduk	Near Akra and in the Zebâr.	1	1	12
Artun	Near Akra and in the Zebâr.	1	1	15
Ba-Mishmish	Near Akra and in the Zebâr.	1	0	15
Erdel	In the Mezuri-yeh.	1	1	14
Bekolé	In the Mezuri-yeh.	1	0	20
Another village, name unknown	In the Mezuri-yeh.	1	1	16
Esyen	In the mountain district south of Jebel Gara.	1	1	40
Ergen	In the mountain district south of Jebel Gara.	1	0	10
Talneetha	In the mountain district south of Jebel Gara.	1	1	6
Mezi	In the mountain district south of Jebel Gara.	1	1	30
Barmeen	In the mountain district south of Jebel Gara.	0	0	8
Adekh	In the mountain district south of Jebel Gara.	1	0	15
Armashé	In the mountain district south of Jebel Gara.	1	0	15
		13	9	249

Diocese of Mar Yeshua-yau of Berwari.

		Churches.	Priests.	Families.
Amedia	In the plain of the Supna.	0	1	25
Deiri	In the plain of the Supna.	1	0	12
Comâné	In the plain of the Supna.	1	0	13
Dirgni	In the plain of the Supna.	1	2	40
Bilejân	In the plain of the Supna.	0	0	8
Bibêdi	In the plain of the Supna.	1	1	20
Hamziyya	In the plain of the Supna.	1	0	6
Déhé	In the plain of the Supna.	1	0	10
Karoo	In the district of Nerwa.	1	1	10
Alih	In the district of Nerwa.	1	0	2
Bâsh	In the district of Nerwa.	1	1	12
Welah	In the district of Nerwa.	1	1	10
Tâshish	In the province of Berwari.	1	1	20
Jdeedé	In the province of Berwari.	0	0	5
Bekolké	In the province of Berwari.	0	0	5
Tootha Shamâya	In the province of Berwari.	0	0	10
Mâya	In the province of Berwari.	0	0	15
Deriské	In the province of Berwari.	0	0	15
Aina d'Nooné	In the province of Berwari.	1	1	20
Iyyet	In the province of Berwari.	1	1	5
Bishmiyâyé	In the province of Berwari.	1	1	6
Doori	In the province of Berwari.	2	4	20
Helwa	In the province of Berwari.	1	1	7
Malakhtha	In the province of Berwari.	0	0	5
Akri	In the province of Berwari.	1	1	20
Bebâluk	In the province of Berwari.	1	1	10
Hayyis	In the province of Berwari.	1	0	15
		20	18	348

Diocese of Buhtân.

Mar Yoosef or Yosep, the Metropolitan of Buhtân, died in 1846, and no successor has been appointed by the Patriarch, who has never visited this province. There are still two Bishops here, Mar Shimoon and Mar Tooma, who reside in the Atêl district, and exercise episcopal jurisdiction over twenty Nestorian villages in the mountains, and two or three in the valley of the Khaboor between Zakho and Jezeerah, said to contain in all 23 16 220

CENTRAL COORDISTAN.

Diocese of Mar Shimoon the Patriarch.

		Churches.	*Priests.*	*Families.*
Garamoon	In the district west of Asheetha, and within the Mosul pashalic.	1	2	80
Halamoon		1	2	50
Tcalluk		1	1	40
Arosh		0	0	17
Hôr		0	0	15
Tciré Rezen		0	0	14
Asheetha	Tyari Tahteitha, or Lower Tyari.	1	4	400
Zaweetha		1	1	90
Minyânish		4	2	60
Merghé		0	1	80
Kurkhé		0	0	35
Leezan		1	2	80
Oomra Tahtâya		1	0	0
Zerni		1	1	16
Karukhta		0	0	6
Chamba d'Beth Soseena		1	1	25
Mâtha d'Kasra		2	2	40
Be-Zeezo		0	0	6
Lagippa		1	1	20
Be-Alâtha		1	3	40
Be-Rawolé		1	2	30
Shoord		0	0	12
Rawola d'Salabeken		1	5	120
Serspeedho	Tyari Alleita, or Upper Tyari.	2	2	80
Siyadhôr		1	1	20
Chamba d'Be-Elîa		0	1	6
Chamba d'Nêné		0	0	7
Chamba d'Coordhâyé		0	0	5
Mezraa	Sub-district of the church of Mar Sâwa.	0	0	4
Mrateetha		0	1	6
Be-Nahra		0	0	10
Be-Zrâko		0	0	10
Roomta		0	1	20
Jemiâtha		0	0	10
Rêshé d'Nahra		0	0	20
Aina d'Aleelé		0	0	3
Doora Allâya		0	0	6
		22	36	1483

			Churches.	Priests.	Families.
Brought over			22	36	1483
Kalayâtha	Tyari Alleita, or Upper Tyari *continued.*		1	1	40
Mezraa d'Kalayâtha			0	0	3
Chamba d'Melek			1	0	60
Be-Dalyâtha			0	0	12
Dâdosh			1	0	35
Mabbuaa			1	1	20
Ko			1	1	30
Chamba d'Koorkhé			0	1	10
Be-Mariggo			1	1	20
Roma Smoka			0	0	5
Chamba d'Hasso			0	0	5
Darâwa			1	1	30
Malôta			0	0	20
Chamba Hadtha			0	0	20
Zorâwa			0	0	6
Seerta	District of Walto.		1	1	66
Shwawootha			0	1	14
Mâtha d'Mart Miriam			1	1	100
Khadiâna			1	1	90
Rêshé d'Nahra			1	1	45
Golozor	Province of Dez.		1	1	25
Soowwa			1	0	6
Koorsen			1	0	20
Chiri Châra			1	1	40
Mâdes :			1	1	18
Mar Kuriakòs			1	1	5
Akôsé			1	1	25
Choolchan			1	0	6
Be-Shammâsha			1	0	32
Sarâmos			1	0	18
Rabban dad'Yeshua			1	0	4
Makeeta			1	0	6
Alogippa			1	1	5
Kochânes	Berwer d' Kochânes.		2	3	35
Be-Nâno			1	0	6
Nerwa			1	0	10
Terkônes			4	0	20
Keeger			1	0	12
Soreenes.			1	0	10
Tarmel			1	0	16
Be-Khajij			1	0	6
Pekhkhen			0	0	5
Hâros			1	0	12
			59	56	2496

		Churches.	*Priests.*	*Families.*
Brought over		59	56	2496
Khardalânes.	Berwer Siweené.	1	0	14
Kotrânes		1	0	25
Akhwânes		1	0	20
Shmooneenes		1	0	20
Siweené		1	0	30
Espin		1	0	20
Sallen		1	0	6
Goorânes		1	0	20
Kermé		1	0	20
Oret		0	0	6
Shwawootha	Berwer d' Shwawootha.	1	1	20
Sakerran		1	1	18
Derikki		1	0	6
Derres	Bilijnâyé.	1	0	15
Awert		1	0	16
Dâden.		1	0	16
Be-Respi (*a*)		0	0	14
Alâs		1	0	20
Nauberi		0	0	6
Be-Respi (*b*)		0	1	9
		75	62	2778

Diocese of Mar Serghees of Jelu.

Gissa	Tehoma.	1	1	50
Be-Arijai		1	1	100
Tehoma Gawâya		1	1	120
Mezraa		1	1	130
Goondooktha		1	1	110
Alsan	Province of Jelu.*	1	1	90
Mêdhi		0	0	5
Nahra		1	1	30
Zerêni		1	1	110
Mâtha d' Mar Zeyya		1	1	50
Ummôd		0	0	25
Talâna		1	0	55
Be-Bokra		0	0	20
Nerik		1	0	28
Ori		0	0	5
Zèr		1	1	100
Serpel		1	0	105
Boo Bâwa		1	0	35
		14	10	1168

* The province of Jelu belongs to the diocese of Mar Shimoon, who farms it to Mar Serghees.

		Churches.	Priests.	Families.
Brought over		14	10	1168
Samsikki	Province of Jelu, *continued.*	1	0	40
Mâtha d' Oriyâyé	Province of Jelu, *continued.*	1	0	28
Muspéran	Province of Jelu, *continued.*	1	0	22
Argeb	Province of Báz.	1	1	90
Kojeeja	Province of Báz.	1	0	20
Mâtha Tahteitha	Province of Báz.	1	1	100
Shwawootha	Province of Báz.	1	1	110
Orwantooz	Province of Báz.	1	1	80
Heesh	District of Rékan.	0	1	10
Merkânish	District of Rékan.	0	0	8
Gebba	District of Rékan.	0	0	6
Erbesh	District of Rékan.	4	1	20
Ba-Dâré	Tcall District.	1	1	25
Ba-Ikta	Tcall District.	1	0	15
Be-Koorâyé	Tcall District.	1	1	52
Be-Azeeza	Tcall District.	1	1	40
Rabbat	Tcall District.	1	1	70
Talâna	Tcall District.	1	0	22
Aréwun	Tcall District.	0	0	33
Ko	Tcall District.	1	1	21
Irk	Tcall District.	1	1	28
Be-Shooka	Tcall District.	1	1	15
Sháwreza	Tcall District.	0	0	6
Biyya	Tcall District.	1	0	12
Be-Létha	Tcall District.	1	1	28
		37	24	1979

Diocese of Mar Sleewa of Gawar.

Be-Rberri	Province of Gawar.	0	0	20
Zirkânes.	Province of Gawar.	1	0	13
Ooreesha	Province of Gawar.	1	1	20
Darâwé	Province of Gawar.	1	1	20
Kiyyet	Province of Gawar.	1	1	24
Manoonan	Province of Gawar.	0	0	6
Kadeeyyan	Province of Gawar.	0	1	30
Memekkan	Province of Gawar.	1	1	13
Seen Awa	Province of Gawar.	1	0	16
Khulkhus	Province of Gawar.	1	0	16
Gerbel*	Province of Gawar.	1	1	20
Gagôran	Province of Gawar.	1	0	15
Ba-Jirga	Province of Gawar.	1	0	22
Wezeer Awa	Province of Gawar.	1	0	19
		11	6	254

			Churches.	*Priests.*	*Families.*
Brought over			11	6	254
Maken d' Awa	Province of Gawar, *continued.*		1	0	20
Pir Zalan			1	1	28
Cher Diwer			1	1	30
Zeezan			1	1	21
Pa Elan			1	1	20
Dâra			1	0	13
Pâghi			1	0	15
Serdesht			1	0	19
Dizza*			1	0	60
Mar Be-Yeshua	Derrenayé.		1	1	100
Iyyel			1	1	38
Be-Zekté			1	1	25
Bâsan			1	1	20
Khanânes Alleita	Khanânes.		1	1	20
Khanânes Tahteitha			1	1	25
Silmooan			1	0	12
Khaleela			0	0	22
Hôzé	Province of Albak.		1	0	25
Erji			0	0	20
Ates			0	0	30
Menjil Awa			0	0	12
Kharâlun			0	0	10
Shareenes			0	0	7
Ozan			0	0	12
Poosan			1	0	14
Boorduk			1	0	18
Alamiyyan			1	0	20
Kalânes			1	1	24
Gezna	Among the Artooshi Coords.		1	0	90
Parrashin			1	1	20
Kharâban			0	0	18
			34	18	1082

The following districts are occasionally visited by the Patriarch :—

Erki	District of Léwun.		1	1	23
Khergel			1	1	20
Matha d' Oomra			1	1	6
Nevgweezan			1	1	24
			4	4	73

* The Christian inhabitants of Gerbel and Dizza are Armenians, but Mar Shimoon informs me that they communicate with the Nestorians, and that Nestorian priests minister to them all the other ordinances of the Church !

		Churches.	Priests.	Families.
Brought over		4	4	73
District of Léwun, *continued.*	Zarânes	0	0	10
	Kanoonta	0	0	8
	Bellekken	0	0	8
	Khandekki	1	1	20
	Billi	0	1	15
	Deira Zengel	1	0	10
	Gohikki	0	0	6
Noodes.	Marwânan	1	1	24
	Oolâma	1	0	20
	Teil Geri	1	0	16
	Parkhilan	0	0	12
		9	7	222

There is another large district in central Coordistan, inhabited by Nestorians, called Be-Shems ood-Deen, under the episcopal jurisdiction of Mar Hnan-Yeshua, who resides at Rustaka. The Metropolitan of this province for the time being consecrates the Patriarch. He has three suffragans, whose dioceses include the districts of Ter Gawar, Mar Gawar, Somâva, Bradostnai, and Mahmedayeh.

In Ooroomiah there are four Bishops and many neighbouring Nestorian villages, but Mar Shimoon knew the names of a few only. He estimates the population of these dioceses at 4500 families.

Recapitulation.

	Metrop.	Bishops	Priests.	Churches.	Families.
Diocese of Mar Auraham	1	0	9	13	249
„ Mar Yeshua-yau	1	0	18	20	348
„ Buhtân	0	2	16	23	220
„ Mar Shimoon, Patriarch	0	0	62	75	2,778
„ Mar Serghees	1	0	24	37	1,979
„ Mar Sleewa	1	0	18	34	1,082
„ Hnan-Yeshua	3	5	34	38	4,500
„ Ooroomiah, &c.					
Districts of Léwun and Noodes	0	0	7	9	222
Total	7	7	188	249	11,378

This would give a population of about 70,000 souls, which I believe to be a low estimate of the present Nestorian community in Turkey and Persia.

I shall here bring this part of my work to a close; the sequel will be taken up with an investigation into the literature, doctrines, ecclesiastical rites and discipline, of the ancient and modern Nestorians.

NOTE TO PAGE 87.

Tomb of the Prophet Jonah.

THE above description coincides with the usual style of architecture adopted in the ancient churches of this district, and there can be no doubt that this edifice was originally a place of Christian worship. The convent of the prophet Jonah is frequently mentioned in the ecclesiastical traditions of the Nestorians, and the following quotation from Bar Saliba identifies the site with the position of the modern mosque and tomb. Writing of the Patriarch Hnan-Yeshua, who was raised to that dignity during the caliphate of Abd 'ool-Melek ibn Merwân, cir. A.D. 686, he says: "Hnan-Yeshua resided in the convent of the prophet Jonah, which is situated on the western side of the wall of Nineveh facing the eastern gates of Mosul, and the river Tigris separates the two cities. When he died, he was buried here, in a coffin made of ebony. Six hundred and fifty years afterwards, the tomb containing the coffin was opened, and the body was discovered whole, and looked as if sleeping. Most of the inhabitants of Mosul went out to see this sight, and we also went and saw it with our eyes. And, even now, whoever desires to behold it, and to receive a blessing therefrom, is at liberty to do so; and if any disbelieve, let them go, and see and believe."

Bar Saliba, or Ibn Sleewa, lived in the fourteenth century, and as he introduces himself as an eye-witness of the above fact, it is clear that the convent was not converted into a mosque till a later period. Perhaps a peep beneath the sumptuous covering of the so-called tomb of Jonah might detect the ebony coffin of the Nestorian saint. Similar pious frauds have been perpetrated by Christians, if we are to believe what is alleged of S. Peter's chair at Rome.

The Mohammedans of the present day do not deny that many of their places of worship in this region were formerly Christian churches; on the contrary, they rather pride themselves upon the circumstance as a token of the triumphs of Islam. More than a century ago, a coffin containing a human skeleton was dug up within the precincts of the mosque at Mosul, called "Beit oot-Tekreeti." The coffin contained also several Syriac books, in one of which the following records were found: "This book of

the Holy Fast, i.e. the last portion of our LORD'S Fast, compiled from many works with great labour and care, and arranged according to the Order of the East, (which is the mother of light and the boast of Christians,) under the direction of the eminent presbyter Aboos-Saadât, surnamed Bar Dokeek, of noble parentage,—was completed on Tuesday after New Sunday, the 17th of Nisân, in the year 1557 [A.D. 1246], and of the Hegira 643, in the month of Zoo'l Kaada. It was completed in the holy Catholic Church,—the church of the blessed Tekreetians at Mosul. And this book belongs to the holy Church of Mar Theodorus, the victorious martyr, known as 'the Church of the Cross,' and is for the use of the eminent deacons and true believers Deacon Ibraheem and Deacon Abdoon of the family of Zorongheel, and for the great head Dadôn, and for the blessed brethren of the same Church, the preserved of GOD from all evil and danger, [written] in the days of the Fathers and watchful Shepherds, and the approved heads of the flock of CHRIST, Mar Ignatius, Patriarch of the Apostolic and Simonite throne of Antioch of the Syrians, and our lord Mar Yohannan the glorious Catholicos, and the lawful Maphrian of Tekreet, and of Nineveh, and of all the East. May GOD award to them the success of the Apostles and Evangelists, and prolong their lives to times and years."

The next is as follows: "Written by Shimoon an unworthy presbyter of the Church of the Tekreetians, the church of the victorious martyr Mar Theodorus, known as 'the Church of the Cross,' and situated near the [gate called the] Bâb 'ool Irak, at the expense of the eminent presbyter Aboos-Saadât surnamed Bar Dokeek. And let whoever reads this book pray for the writer."

These records clearly testify that this mosque also had formerly been a church belonging to the Syrian Jacobites. They further render it more than probable that there was still a large Christian community at Tekreet, (a town on the Tigris mid-way between Mosul and Baghdad,) as late as the thirteenth century. At present it is inhabited exclusively by Arabs.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

[1] It would be charitable to add that, in a sect anathematized by his Church, the temporal head of that Church cannot be expected to feel much interest. The Armenian communion, separated rather by a misunderstanding than by heresy, and no doubt shortly to be rejoined to the Orthodox Eastern Church, is on a different footing.

[2] Nevertheless, the Catholicos of Armenia is to all intents and purposes Patriarch, and is usually so called in official documents.

[3] This See is Metropolitical, and ranks eighth among those that are dependent on Constantinople. The official title of the Prelate is, *Metropolitan of Dercus and Neochorum; Most Excellent, and Exarch of all the Thracian Bosporus.*

[4] This unjust and cruel persecution deserves a longer narration.

[5] The Archbishop of Trebizond ranks twenty-second among those subject to Constantinople. He calls himself, *Most Excellent, and Exarch of all Lazica.*

[6] In the Report of the Russian Minister of the Interior for 1843, Amâsia is a Metropolitical See of the Armenian Church, with a Suffragan at Sepucha.

[7] No such See now appears in the official notitia of the Church of Constantinople.

[8] A Suffragan of the Metropolitan of Agen.

[9] If this account be correct, the doctrine of the Syro-Jacobites respecting Adam and Eve is singularly different from that of the Eastern Church, by which they are celebrated in the Menæa.

[10] I had already assigned some reasons for not agreeing with this hypothesis of the author's, when, in a later communication, he informed me that he no longer held it.

[11] It need hardly be observed that this letter, though curious enough, is a palpable forgery.

[12] A far truer account of these negotiations is given by Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, ii. 159.

[13] On the contrary, the firmness of Alexander VII., in insisting on a full recognition of the Faith of Ephesus, is deserving of something very different from the cold sneer of Mosheim.

[14] This is not exactly correct. Babuæus, a man of bad character, and one of the principal introducers of the Nestorian heresy, who sat from 466 to 486, innovated on the more ancient customs, and permitted marriage to Bishops, and even to the Patriarch: and the innovation remained in force some little time.

[15] Nevertheless, I fear that there is too much truth in Boré's account: though of course it would be denied by Nestorians.

[16] New Sunday, in the Nestorian, as in the orthodox Eastern Church, is the First after Easter.

[17] If this stratagem had been employed by a Jesuit, would it not have met with a severer censure?

[18] Here, clearly, Rome was removing what the author himself allows to be a gross corruption, the hereditary Patriarchate: and it is scarcely fair to impute so low a motive to her missionaries.

INDEX TO VOLUME I.

PAGE

Abd-ool-Samed Beg, Emeer of Berwari . . . 187, 211
Abdoon-Noor, Bishop of Azekh, murder of, . . . 57
Abgarus, tradition concerning the King . . . 326
Aboo-Marya, fortress of 301
Abrahâm, kinsman of James the brother of our LORD . . 137
successor to Abrees 137
Abrees, successor of Mar Mari 136
death of 136
Abulpharaj, primate of the East 97
Adekh, churches and families at 392
Aden, the author appointed chaplain to 360
his illness at and departure from . . . 360
Aha d'Abhooi, disciple of Yaakoob 137
consecrated Bishop at Jerusalem . . . 137
his arrival at Ctesiphon and superintendence over the Eastern Christians 137
Aina d'Aleelé, families at 394
Aina d'Nooné, churches, priests, and families at . . . 393
Ainkâwa, churches, priests, and families at 175
Ain-oos-Safrâ, trip to 99
held in high veneration by the Yezeedees . . 99
curious custom connected with . . . 99
Ainsworth, Mr. 177
the unsettled state of the Coords described by . . 190
remarks of, on the Nestorians of Coordistan . 219
Akhwânes, churches and families at 396
Akôsé, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Akra, hills of 98
Akri, churches, priests, and families at . . . 393
Alaja Khan, village of 31
Alamiyyan, churches and families at 398
Alâs, churches and families at 396
Albanian Guards, character of the 300
Aleppines, character and habits of the 357
their reliance on Providence . . . 357
Aleppo, work of proselytism, commenced in . . . 2

PAGE

Aleppo, Jacobites in 63
secession to Rome at 63
arrival at 354
welcomed by Naoom Azâr at 354
members of the Greek Church at 354
Papal Greeks at 354
Armenians at 355
Papal Armenians at 355
Papal Syrians at 355
Maronites and Jews at 355
the Jamaa el-Kbeer at 356
tradition concerning 356
the office of *Muezzin* to the Mosque at 357
departure from 358
Ali Beg 264
Alih, churches and families at 393
Alkôsh, arrival at 104
condition of village of 104
appearance of the people of 104
Nahum buried at 104
seat of the Nestorian Patriarchs 104
Chaldean families and churches at 104
churches, priests, and families at 174
Alogippa, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Alsan, churches, priests and families at 396
Amâsia, valley of 18
description of 18
bridge built of the remains of an ancient Amasea at . . 18
sepulchral grots at 18
origin of their construction 18
sketch of grotto at 19
Strabo born at 19
disappearance of the monuments of art at . . . 19
principal cause of their destruction 19
government and population of 19, 20
Armenians at 20
episcopal jurisdiction of Armenians at 20
language of the Christians in the district of . . . 20
product of 21
departure from 21
spring of water near 21
belief of the Greeks concerning the spring . . . 21
Amedia, salary allowed by Rome to the Bishop of . . 171
families at 174
number of churches, clergy, and population in the diocese of 174
situation and description of 199
causes of the decrease of Nestorians in the district of . . 200
visit to, and description of, the Nestorian oratory at . 200
the Christians not permitted to build a church at . . 200

PAGE
Amedia, visit to the Armenian chapel at . . . 201
number of Armenians, Nestorians, and Chaldeans at . . 201
annual visit of Mutran Yoosef to . . . 201
robes worn by the Bishop on these occasions . . 201
visit from Nestorians and Jews at . . . 202
cordiality between the two people . . . 202
their oppression by the Mohammedans . . 202
consequences of Mohammedan despotism at . . 202
Christians and Jews forbidden to leave . . 203
visit to Jewish synagogue at 203
its desecration by the infidels . . . 203
instances of the tyranny and oppression of the government at . 205
mode of calculating tithe in the district of . . 206
preparations for departure from 207
arrangements for opening a school at . . . 250
arrival at 252, 379
visit to the Church of Mar Audishu at . . 252
departure from 254, 380
performance of church service at 379
priests and families at 393
American Board of Foreign Missions 6
their doctrines and constitution opposed to the teaching and discipline of the Anglican church . 6
their claim to labour among the Eastern Christians ludicrous and presumptuous . . 7
Independents, the 61
character of . . . 10
progress of among the Armenians . . 10
their proselytes recognized by the Porte as a separate sect 10
their adherents said to be increasing . 10
school under the auspices of, at Jezeerah . 58
at Asheetha, Mohammed Pasha's charges against the 196
at Aleppo 355
proceedings of, at Ooroomiah . . 367
sentiments of Mar Shimoon thereon . 367
their abandonment of Mosul . . 368
their mission to the Syrian Jacobites . 375
Amooda, village of 66
Anglican ritual, Arabic edition of, in the hands of the Syrians . 72
Anseriyyah, families at 174
Antioch, entered 358
Anti-Taurus, entry into the 34
ascent of 35
Apocrypha the, not published with the Syriac Bible . . . 71
Arâden, churches, priests, and families at . . 174

PAGE
Arbaces 78
war of, against Sardanapalus 79
reign of 79
Ardasheer, succeeded and occupied the site of Nineveh . . 77
Aréwun, families at 397
Argeb, churches, priests, and families at 397
Arghana, arrival at 36
inhabitants of 36
arrival of Osman Pasha at 36
Maaden, population of 35
in the diocese of Kabban Maaden . . . 35
Armenian Church at 35
occupation of inhabitants of 35
Armashé, churches and families at 392
Armenian Patriarchate, incumbent of, generally a Bishop . . 5
Armoota, churches, priests, and families at 175
Arosh, families at 394
Arpaoot, Armenian village of 33
Artaxerxes Babegan, founder of the Sassanian dynasty . . 143
said to be in heart a Christian . . 143
state of the Church during the reign of . 143
Artun, churches, priests, and families at 392
Asaad Pasha 52
of Diarbekir 361, 362
Asheetha, arrival and cordial reception at . . . 213
derivation of the name 214
division and population of 214
produce of 214
employment of the inhabitants of . . . 215
costume of the priests and laity of . . . 215
manufactures and mines at 216
Church of S. George at 225
description of church furniture and vestments at . 225
plan of the church at 226
departure from 252
warlike operations of the Coords at . . . 276
the Nestorians rise against the Coords at . . 276
horrible slaughter and outrages at . . . 276
churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Ates, families at 398
Atmeidât, arrival and stay at 300
Atoosh, churches and families at 174
Ava Supna, or the Supna water 199
Aiwenât, the mound of 302
Shereef Pasha expected at 302
Awert, churches and families at 396
Azekh, village of 57
sufferings of the inhabitants of . . . 57
religious apathy at 57

PAGE
Azekh, filthy state of church at 57
dissensions among the villagers of . . . 57

Babai, the martyr, successor of Dad-Yeshua . . . 143
Babeel 68
Ba-Dârê, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Badger, Mrs., extract from the diary of . . . 119
Badi, village of 203
Badi Resh, stay at 198
Baghdad, secession to Rome at 63
Mutran Elîa resides as presbyter at . . . 174
number of churches, clergy, and population in the diocese of . 174
the Pasha of 275
Ba-Hazâni 101, 119
Bahdinân, labours among the Nestorians of . . . 283
Bahri Ahmet Pasha, governor of Urfah 325
Ba-Ikta, churches and families at 397
Ba-Jirga, churches and families at 397
Bahendawayah 198
Bakôfa, churches, priests, and families at 174
Ba-Mishmish, churches and families at . . . 392
Bar Hebræus, tomb of 99
Barmeen, families at 392
Bartolli 101
Bâsan, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Ba-Sebreena, arrival at 56
monastery at 56
inhabitants of 57
Bâsh, churches, priest, and families at 393
Ba-Sheaka 101, 119
stay at 111, 391
Basra, Turkish docks at 80
Batnaia, churches, priests, and families at . . . 174
arrival at 197
Be-Alâtha, start for and arrival at 387
meeting with the Patriarch at 388
his dejected appearance 388
his portrait taken at 388
departure from 389
churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Be-Arijai, churches, priests, and families at . . . 396
Be-Azeeza, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Bebâdi, village of 199
Bebâluk, churches, priests, and families at 393
Be-Bokra, families at 396
Bebôzi, churches and families at 174
Be-Dalyâtha, families at 395
Bedooeen Arabs, character of the 345

PAGE

Bedooeen Arabs, the author's first acquaintance with the . . 345
intercourse of European travellers with the . . 345
conduct of Europeans in the East to the . . 345
the office of the Moollah among the . . 346
their idea of future happiness . . . 346
Turkish treatment of the, no inducement to reform their mode of life 346
measures for reclaiming the . . . 347
Bedr Khan Beg 46, 57, 69, 133
generally known as Emeer of Jezeerah . . 68
tyranny and oppression of . . . 69
summoned before Mohammed Pasha . . . 184
his conduct on the occasion . . . 184
treatment of the Christians by . . . 184
receives a decoration from the Porte . . 261
conspires against the Nestorians . . . 266
atrocities of 303
his renewed persecution of the Jacobites, and murder of their Primate 303
Coordish opinion of 305
his refusal to go to the Turkish Capital . . 372
his continued persecution of the Christians . . 372
his subjection and exile . . . 373
Behnâm Sarah, sister of Mar Behnâm, regarded as a saint . . 95
monastery dedicated to the memory of . . 95
Beidar, churches and families at 175
Beit-ool-Ab, or patriarchal family 160
destruction of, considered an invasion of ancient privileges . 167
sympathy of Mutran Hanna in this respect . . 167
attempts to destroy the influence of the , . . 171
Beit-ool-Tekneeti, mosque of, once a Christian Church . . 81
Be-Khajij, churches and families at 395
Bekolé, churches and families at 392
Bekolké, families at 393
Be-Koorâyé, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Be-Létha, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Bellekken, families at 399
Beloochistan Derweesh on a pilgrimage 317
Be-Mariggo, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Be-Nahra, families at 394
Be-Nâno, churches and families at 395
Be-Rawolé, churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Be-Rberri, families at 397
Be-Respi, (*a*) families at 396
(*b*) priests and families at 396
Beri Balal Deena, or the Fool's Stone 209
tradition connected with . . . 209
Berwari, district of 211

PAGE
Berwari, villages and churches in 211
episcopal jurisdiction of 211
decrease of Nestorians in 211
to what attributable . . . 211
remarks on the state of the Christians in . . . 211
Be-Shammâsha, churches and families at 395
Be-Shems ood-Deen 399
Be-Shooka, churches, priests, and families at 397
Bestava, Chaldean village of 254
Be-Zeezo, families at 394
Be-Zekté, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Be-Zrâko, families at 394
Bibêdi, churches, priests, and families at 393
Bidwil, churches and families at 174
Bilejân, families at 393
Billi, priests and families at 399
Birejik, arrival at 349
description of the town and neighbourhood . . 349
bazaars and mosques at 349
climate, population, and language of . . . 350
Christian church and priest at 350
occupation of the inhabitants of . . . 350
government of 350
produce of the district of 350
old castle at 350
sketch of interesting bas-relief and sculptures at . . 351
their probable date 352
performance of quarantine at 352
absurdity of the detention 352
Bishmiyâyé, churches, priests, and families at . . . 393
Biyya, churches and families at 397
Bochart 91
Bombay presidency, appointment of the author to the chaplaincy of the . 360
Boo Bâwa, churches and families at 396
Boorduk, churches and families 398
Boré, M. 24, 25, 186
his work on Armenia 5
his account of the Nestorian dissensions . . 148
his false reproach of the Anglican Church . . . 148
adduces no authority in support of his accounts . . 148
"Correspondance d'orient" of 148
feeling between the Nestorian Patriarch and Noorallah Beg, described by 190
Botros Gerwa, Papal Syrian Patriarch 355
Bradostnai 399
Buhtan, the Emeer of 189
added to the Mosul pashalic 183
statistics of the diocese of 399

PAGE

Bumudas the, the modern Khazir 89

Cadi-kieui, inhabited by the descendants of the citizens of ancient Amisus 15
in the diocese of Trebizond . . . 15
Caliphs, the Nestorian Church under the 144
their number under the 144
Canning, Sir Stratford 92
interviews with 12
his endeavours in behalf of the Christians in Turkey 12
result of researches transmitted to . . 86
letter to 92
his intervention on behalf of the Nestorians . 275
succeeds in releasing the Nestorians . . 277
liberal donation of . . . 279
Carr, Dr. Lord Bishop of Bombay 360
Cavak, arrival at 16
Chakal-kieui, refuge in 16
departure from 16
"Chaldean," remarks on the name 177
the term not used in ancient Nestorian rituals . 177
how used in Nestorian rituals . . 178
how used by Mar Abd Yeshua . . 179
in what sense used by Assemanni . . 179
origin of the term as applied to a Christian sect . 180
Dr. Grant on the term 179
Chaldean Church, the Papal party recognized as the . . 282
community, barrenness of the ecclesiastical records of . 162
of the East, number of the . . 176
effect of missionary labour on the . . 281
dioceses, statistical account of the existing . . 173
hierarchy as at present 172
different dioceses of the 172
Patriarch, proceedings to elect a . . . 168
difficulties in the decision 168
Patriarch, the Pope referred to 168
appointed by the Pope . . . 168
reasons for the Pope appointing the . . 169
reasons for selecting Mar Zeyya . . 169
Patriarchate, stranger appointed to the . . . 149
difficulty of restoring the old . . 281
Patriarchs, validity of appointments of the . . . 149
"Chaldeans," Nestorian proselytes to Rome called . . 150
not recognized by the Porte 169
their advantages from their communion with Rome . 176
their improvement in scholastic teaching . . 176
their restlessness under the Papal yoke, and their anxiety for the assistance of the Church of England . . 177
the, of the same family with the Assyrians . . 179

PAGE
Chaldeans, anxious for reform 192
friendly intercourse with the 193
of Mesopotamia, affairs of the 5
of Mosul, salaries allowed by Rome to the . . 171
of Scripture, their first existence as a distinct people, their sorcery and witchcraft taken into Egypt, whether their dynasty was separate from the Babylonian . . 332
Chaldeo-Babylonian dynasty, date of the first use of the recent discoveries in elucidating the subject 332
Chamba d'Be-Elîa priests and families at 394
Chamba d'Beth Soseena, churches, priests, and families at . 394
Chamba d'Coordhâyé, families at 394
Chamba Hadtha, families at 395
Chamba d'Hasso, families at 395
Chamba d'Koorkhé, priests and families at . . . 395
Chamba d'Melek, churches and families at . . . 395
Chamba d'Nêné, families at 394
Cher Diwer, churches, priests and families at . . . 398
Chinese government, jealousy of, at the propagation of Christianity . 144
expulsion of Christians by the 144
the gods of Palestine and India confounded by the . 144
Chiri Châra, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Christian Church in Chaldea and Mesopotamia, founders of the . 136
Knowledge, Society for promoting, purchase of manuscripts for the 201
Christianity, triumph of, over jealousy and malice . . 143
success of, in the 6th century . . . 144
Christians persecuted by the Persian king . . . 137
Choolchan, churches and families at 395
Church, the, deprived of her legitimate authority . . 280
appealed to for directions 284
consequences of withholding assistance . . 284
the, her position with regard to the Eastern missions . . 287
of Rome, Nestorian plan of reconciliation with the . 146
Missionary Society 61
Circumcision, not a distinctive Mohammedan rite . . 129
not indispensable among the Yezeedees . . 129
Cocher Coords, habits and peculiarities of the . . . 313
their religion 313
part of them supposed idolaters . . 313
their similarity to the Yezeedees . . . 314
their use of circumcision . . . 314
vocabulary of words in use by . . . 314
night spent with the 314
adventure among the 316
robbery of a Christian by the . . . 317
Comana Pontica, exile and death of S. Chrysostom at . . 21
remains of 26

PAGE
Comâné, churches and families at 393
Constantinople, arrival at 1, 12, 358
Patriarchs at 5
Coord Beli, stay at 28
Coordirek, village of 53
Armenians at 53
Coordish chiefs conspire against the Nestorians . . . 264
of Berwari, invited to throw off the Turkish yoke 188
District entered on 46
Emeers, toleration of the 149
encampment, stay at 319
motley group at 320
tent, shelter in a, its description . . . 312
and Yezeedee villages passed 56
Coords, why many of the, became rebels . . . 46
massacre of at Mardeen 49
their hatred of the Christians 69
the, jealous of the Frank visits to the mountain Nestorians . 189
instance of revolting barbarity of the . . . 270
and Nestorians in Coordistan, political condition of the . 256
the origin and progress of their internal dissensions . 256
their original settlement in the country . . . 256
ignorance of the inhabitants on the subject . . 256
Mr. Layard's account 257
Council of Ephesus, Easterns excommunicated by the . . 143
Ctesiphon raised to a Patriarchal see 136
Cyril and Nestorius, dispute between 143

Dâden, churches and families at 396
Dâdosh, churches and families at 395
Damascus, number of villages in the district of . . . 63
secession to Rome at 63
Daoodia, families at 174
Dara, arrival at 306
cistern and cemeteries at 306, 7
ruins of mosque, palace, and prison at . . . 307
villages on the ruins of 307
Christian church and priest at 307
coins collected at 307
Ainsworth's account of the ancient city of . . 307
Gibbon's description 309
defended by Belisarius against the Persians . . 310
reduced by Chosroes 310
its surrender to the Saracens 310
departure from 310
Dâra, churches and families at 398
Daraoosh, between Nimrood and the Tigris . . . 91
Darâwa, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395

PAGE
Darâwé, churches, priests, and families at 397
Death and funeral of the author's mother at Mosul . . 296
manifestation of public sympathy on the event . . 296
her burial place . . 297
Déhé, churches, and families at 393
Dehòk, churches, priests, and families at 174
Deir Zaaferân, visit to 49
ignorance of our Church at . . . 50
description of 50
burial place of Syrian Patriarchs and Bishops at . 50
remains of Mar Eughène at . . . 50
altar piece at 50
library at 51
writings of S. Chrysostom, Gregory Bar Hebræus, and S. Ephrem, at 51
compendium of the ante-Nicene Fathers at . . 51
Greek and Roman remains at . . . 51
the seat of the Syrian Patriarch . . . 59
Deira Zengel, churches and families at . . . 399
Deiri, village of 253
churches and families at 393
Deir-ool-Amar, arrival at 56
a large Jacobite convent at . . . 56
church dedicated to Mar Gawriel at . . . 56
ignorance of the Monks at . . . 56
Delikli Tash, or the Riven Rock 30
derivation of name 31
Derbend, or guard house, description of a 22
Dereesh, Coordish village of 53
Derikki, churches and families at 396
Deriské, families at 393
Δερκαί, Bishop of, appointed Greek Patriarch . . . 5
Derres, churches and families at 396
Derwishes, Mohammedan, induction into office of . . . 113
Dez, amount of Coordish plunder in the province of . . 367
number of persons killed in 367
Dirgni, churches, priests and families at . . . 393
Dissent, principles of, opposed to the genius and sympathies of the Oriental mind 10
Ditell, Mr., a Russian traveller 86
Dizza, churches and families at 398
Diarbekir, arrival at 37, 311
secessions to Rome at 3, 41
the ancient Amida 38
known to the Turks as Kara Amid, or Black Amida . 38
situation and history of 38
relic of ancient art at 38

PAGE

Diarbekir, description of supposed ruin of a Christian Church . 38
Greek, Latin, and Cufic inscriptions at . . . 39
description of the modern town of . . . 39
principal export of 40
languages spoken at 40
population of 40
Armenian inhabitants at 41
churches and schools at 41
interview with the clergy at . . . 41
papal Armenians at 41
Greek Church at 41
tombs of S. Cosmas and S. Damian at . . . 41
church seized by the Romanists at . . . 41
bishop sent by the Romanists to . . . 41
church reclaimed by the Greek Patriarch at . . 41
return to the Greek Church at 42
Chaldeans at 42
description of Chaldean and Armenian churches at . 42
intercourse with Mutran Botros at . . . 42
tombs of Chaldean Patriarchs at . . . 42
not the seat of a Jacobite Bishop . . . 44
under the control of the Patriarch . . . 44
Papal Syrians under Mutran Antoon of Mardeen at . 44
Jacobite families at 44
visit from an Italian Capuchin at . . . 44
his complaint of the Armenians at Urfah . . 44
female costume at 44
general character of the people of . . . 45
departure from 46, 312
or Kharpoot, Jacobite Bishop at . . . 60
rival communities of Romanist Syrians at . . 63
number of villages in district of . . . 63
patriarchate set up by the Pope at . . . 146
denomination assumed by patriarchs at . . 147
see of, declared abolished 150
Chaldean patriarch set up at . . . 150
Patriarch at not recognised by Nestorian Bishops, nor the Porte 150
salary allowed by Rome to the Bishop of . . 171
churches, priests, and families at . . . 174
statistics of the diocese of 174
entertained by Khawaja Bedosh at . . . 311
Dizzi, families at 174
Dolabiyah, arrival at 301
Doora Allâya, families at 394
Doori, churches, priests, and families at 393
departure from, and journey to Leezan . . . 383
reception by Mar Yeshua-Yau at 381

PAGE
Doori, the episcopal residence at 381
the Bishop's description of Nestorian sufferings . . 381
church of Mar Kayyoma at 382
description of the Church and Bishop by Dr. Grant at . . 382
Doorkan and Cashgar discipled by Mar Mari . . . 136

East India Company, their kindly disposition towards the Church . 360
Eastern communities, commission to seek intercourse with the heads of 9
Patriarch, mode of electing the 137
Patriarchs, ceased to receive their investiture from Antioch . 142
successors of the, how elected 143
See at Ctesiphon, foundation of . . . 136
Easterns, their refusal to receive the anathemas of Cyril and espousal of the cause of Nestorius 143
the consequences 143
"Ecbatana" or "Ekbadan," stated by Mr. Layard to be the ancient name of Amedia 202
El-Yakooti, the famous geographer 77
Elîa II. Patriarch of Mosul sends private embassies to the Pope . 146
Elîa III. Patriarch, his conditions for joining the Church of Rome . 146
his proposals not accepted 146
Elîas, the late Patriarch of the Jacobites in Turkey . . . 60
of Alkôsh, seal of one of the late . . . 181
of Mosul, the 145
Emumkè, stay at the village of 198
En-Nakoot, natural cave called 98
Epistle by the four Western Patriarchs . . . 137
note referring to the . . 137
Erbesh, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Erdel, churches, priests, and families at 392
Ergen, churches and families at 392
Erji, families at 398
Erki, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Erzeroom, the Pasha of 275
Espin, churches and families at 396
Esyen, churches, priests, and families at 392
Euphrates crossed 32
expedition in 1836, visit to the 349
Evil principle, the 119

Fakîrs, province of the 132
sometimes called *Kara-bash*, or Black-heads . . 132
Fasting, seeming neglect of, by the Yezeedees . . . 129
another feature of Magism 129
condemned by Zoroaster 129
Fire and light, Yezeedee symbols of the good Deity . . 117
Fletcher, Mr. 359

PAGE

France, work of proselytism fostered by the agents of . . 2
protected by her ambassadors at Constantinople . . 2
claim of, to protect the "Catholics" in the Turkish Empire . 4
no foundation in any treaty between the Porte and . . 4
influence exercised by, in behalf of the Latin missions . 24
French Government solicited to appoint a Consul at Mosul . . 169
reasons for the appointment 169

Gabet Nerk, the, crossed 211
Gagôran, churches and families at 397
Garamoon, churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Gawrièl, a native of Mardeen 162
scholastic undertakings of 162
talents and zeal of 162
ordained priest and abbot 162
establishment of at Rabban Hormuzd . . . 162
Gebba, families at 397
Geli Mezurka, the 208
Geli-oot-Tirsh, the pass of 254
Geoljik Barmaz Ovasi lake, appearance of . . . 34
Geok Soo 46
Gerbel, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Gerger Dagh mountain, the 318
its Christian inhabitants 318
their spiritual destitution 318
degraded condition of the priests at . . 318
Syriac MS. of the New Testament at . . . 319
Gezna, churches and families at 398
Gheorghees, priest, of Asheetha 283
Ghirkhen 29
Gibbon 125
his testimony in favour of a Christian Bishop . . 97
on the Persian theology 126
his testimony valuable 144
extract from writings of 144
on the funeral of Gregory Bar Hebræus . . 298
Gibraltar, the Lord Bishop of 267
Girki Pedròs, churches and families at . . . 175
Gissa, churches, priests, and families at . . . 396
Gohikki, families at 399
Golozor, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Gomel, waters of the 98
Goondooktha, churches, priests, and families at . . . 396
Goonduk, arrival at 389
Nestorian convent at 389
ancient sculptures near 390
night spent in the convent at 390
churches, priests, and families at . . . 392

PAGE
Goorânes, churches and families at 396
Gooroo Soo, a tributary of the Iris 22
Gospel Propagation Society 192
extracts from reports to the 193, 247, 268, 280, 285
liberality of the 277
notice of withdrawal of our mission by the 286
their reason for the step 286
letter to the 288
letter from the, directing our return home . 292
feelings of Mar Shimoon on the intelligence 292
extract from letter to the 292
Grant, Dr. 185
missionary establishment commenced by . . . 185
the proceeding looked on with suspicion by the Nestorians 186
Mohammed Pasha's conspiracy to murder . . 188
his departure from Asheetha for Mosul . . 188
his kindness at Mosul 192
on the names of the Nestorians . . . 223
fallacy of, regarding the origin of the Nestorians . . 227
his friendship with Noorallah Beg . . . 248
on the Nestorians and their country . . . 383
Greek Church in Turkey, unlimited sway of Russia over . . 4
Greek Patriarch, death of, at Constantinople . . . 5
Greek and Armenian clergy, conversations with the . . 12
their ignorance of us . . . 12
treatise proposed to be written to . 12
points treated of . . . 12
Greeks and Armenians, why able to stand against the encroachments of Rome 4
Gregorius Isa, Papal Syrian Bishop of Mosul . . . 71
Gregory Bar Hebræus and his brother, remains of . . . 97
lines said to be penned by . . 97

Hadj Asaad Beg 264
Haj Oghloo, village of 68
Hakkari, powers of the Emeer of 258
tribute paid by the Nestorians to the . . . 258
Emeers, their investiture by the Porte . . . 261
Halamoon, churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Hamman Ali, bituminous spring at 84
natural well near 84
haunt of wild pigeons near 84
their destruction and popular superstition concerning . 84, 85
Hamziyya, churches and families at 393
Haros, churches and families at 395
Harran, arrival at 341
description and sketch of its ruins . . . 342
supposed ruins of a church at 342

PAGE
Harran, the grave of Abraham's father at . . . 343
suspicious conduct of the guides at . . . 343
visit from the Sheikh of the Jès Arabs at . . 343
employment and character of the Jès Arabs . . . 343
intelligence of a Sayeh attack on the Shammar and death of the Sheikh 343
departure from 344
Hasan Tcelebi 31
Hatti Shereef, the, a vain chapter of privileges . . . 34
no better than a mockery . . . 34
Hayyis, Nestorian village of 211, 380
churches and families at 393
Haznaoor, Jacobites at 68
arrival at 304
Heesh, priests and families at 397
Hegneh, the fort of 302
Hekim Khan, arrival at 31
Mohammedan oppression of the Christians at . . 31
visit to and description of the church at . . 31
in the diocese of the Cesarean Armenian Bishop . . 32
Mohammedan mosque at . . . 32
Helwa, churches, priests, and families at 393
Hereditary succession to the patriarchate an innovation . . 283
Hindoos and Parsees of India 119
Hnan-Yeshua, statistics of the diocese of . . . 399
Holy Scriptures, distribution of the 281
Hôr, families at 394
"Hours, The," quotation from 298
Hôzé, churches and families at 398
Husein, the present Emeer of the Yezeedees . . . 132
his influence and powers 132
Husein Beg, visit from 122
jealousy between Sheikh Nâsir and . . . 122

Ina Bazaar, Mohammedan village of 21
Independents, present success of the, ephemeral . . . 10
conversation with the converts of the . . . 11
theirs a religion of negation . . . 11
their contempt for outward forms and sacred rites . 11
necessary consequence of such teaching . . 11
Infant Church, fortunes of the, under the Sassanian rulers . . 143
Inishk, churches, priests, and families at . . . 174
Irk, churches, priests, and families at 397
Islâm, doctrines of, among the Yezeedees . . . 129
Islamism, a Jacobite boy, forced to embrace . . . 254
his permission to join his Church . . . 254
Ismael Agha, the *Kiahya* of Amedia 253
Ismael Pasha, ex-governor of Amedia 265

PAGE
Ismael Pasha, cause of his enmity to the Nestorian Patriarch . . 265
interceded with on behalf of the Nestorians . . 275
Iynges, the, or sacred birds 127
Iyyel, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Iyyet, churches, priests, and families at 393

Jacobite Bishops in Turkey, education and employment of the . 61
Syrians, visit to and description of Church of the . . 43
chapel, dedicated to S. James . . . 43
novel painting in the chapel 43
intellectual inferiority of the 44
administration of their ecclesiastical affairs . . . 44
bishops and priests of the 44
Jacobites, why unjustly treated 3
no representative of the, at Constantinople . . 5
and Nestorians, instances of the ruinous condition of the Churches of 24
their continued separation from the Church of Christ . 59
their denial of the Two Natures . . . 59
signal displeasure of the Almighty towards the . . 60
their condition as a religious community . . 60
degraded state of the 63
dissensions among the 63
conduct of their spiritual guides 63
adoption of Romish errors by the . . . 64
its results 64
on what principle reformation should be carried out among the 65
in India, most deplorable state of the . . . 72
in Turkey, present hierarchy of the . . . 69
title claimed by their Patriarch . . . 60
Jacob's Well, visited and described 344
Jaghjagha, the ancient Mygdonius, crossed . . . 68
Jdedé, families at 393
Jebel-ain-oos-Safrâ 98
Jebel Makloob 97
Jebel Makloob, view from 98
Jebel Toor 133
notes of a journey through . . . 52
Jacobite Bishops in 60
number of villages in 63
left to the care of three Bishops . . . 109
Jemiâtha, families at 394
Jerusalem, Dr. Anderson on the establishment of an Anglican Bishop at . 8
unfriendliness to the English Bishop at . . 9
Jacobite Bishop at 60
Anglican Bishop at 61
the late Anglican Bishop at 277
Jews, party of, met near Bahendawayah . . . 198

PAGE
Jews, language spoken by the, in the district of Amedia . . 203
their poverty and ignorance 204
Jezeerah, arrival at 58, 68
harsh conduct of the Patriarch of . . . 58
school under American auspices at . . . 58
the ancient Be-Zabde 68
situation and description of 68
government, population, and language of . . 69
Nestorian Metropolitan resided at . . . 69
Mutran Basileos, appointed to the See of . . 69
fear of Christians at 69
departure from 69
churches, priests, and families at 175
statistics of the diocese of 175
or Bahdinân, Chaldean Bishop of . . . 196
captive Nestorians at 275
refusal to liberate them 278
Job's Well at Urfah 326
Mohammedan and Christian traditions concerning . . 326
its waters supposed to have a miraculous property . 326
Jonah, at Nineveh 79
Mohammedan veneration for the tomb of . . 85
no Christian admitted to the mosque over the tomb . . 85
description of interior of the tomb . . . 85
Joodi, mountains of 69
Joseph II., III., and V., Chaldean Patriarchs, tombs of . . 42
Joseph I. and IV., tombs of 43

Kabban Maaden, condition and population of . . . 32
smelting furnaces at 33
Kadeeyyan, priests and families at 397
Kadoma, ascent of the 252
Kainagh, village of, passed 317
Kalaat Koomri, the residence of the Emeer of Berwari . . 211
Kalaat-ool-Mara, tradition of 51
Kalânes, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Kalayâtha, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Kam-Yeshua, disciple of Yaakoob 137
crucifixion of 137
Kangal, stay at 31
Kani Baska, stay at the Coordish village of . . . 254
Kanoonta, families at 399
Kara Ahmet, village of 52
Kara Joorni, village of 319
inhospitable conduct of its inhabitants . . 319
Kara Koopri, Coordish village of 321
Karakôsh 101
Karajah Dagh, mountain of 315

PAGE
Karoo, churches, priests, and families at . . . 393
Karukhta, families at 394
Kas Botros 285
joins the American Independents . . . 359
Kas Botros Hazaz, a Papal Syrian priest . . . 268
Kas Gawrièl induced to separate the Bishops . . . 163
Kas Gheorghees 162
Kas Hanna, of Alkôsh, Latin missionary 162
of Tell Iskof, Latin missionary . . . 162
Kas Michael, his Nestorian labours 359
his loss of employment 359
Kas Michael Giamala, a Chaldean priest 268
Kas Stephân, submission to Mutran Hanna of . . . 165
his appointment to Telkèf 165
his expulsion from the Chaldean Church . . 165
his marriage and occupation 165
his boldness in reproving the Patriarch . . 165
Chaldean priest 283
Kash Audishu and Kasha Kena of Leezan, their narrative of the attempt to depose Noorallah Beg 262
Kash Aurâha 286
Kasha Mendu, the Nestorian priest of Amedia . . 198, 283
and his brothers 200
vestments and altar service belonging to . . 201
reflections, suggested upon seeing them . . 201
Kasha Narsi, priest of Inishk 283
Kasr Ibreej, village of 66
Kasr Karandelân, Roman building called 66
Kasr Serteka 306
Kasr Serteka, Roman building called 66
Kawwal, literal meaning of 132
Kawwâls, the, sacred musicians 115
their music monotonous and harsh . . . 116
their pilgrimages to Sheikh Adi 116
visit from 120
office of the 132
Keeger, churches and families at 395
Kemal Effendi, a Turkish commissioner . . . 278, 365
has an interview with Bedr Khan Beg . . 278
obtains the release of Nestorian prisoners . . 278
Kerkook, salary allowed by Rome, to the Bishop of . . 171
churches, priests, and families at . . . 175
statistics of the diocese of 175
Kermé, churches and families at 396
Kermelis, churches, priests, and families at . . . 174
Khadiâna, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Khaleela, families at 398
Khaletiyeh, tribe of the 129

PAGE

Khaletiyeh, held to be orthodox Yezeedees . . . 129
Khanânes Alleita, churches, priests, and families at . . 398
Tahteitha, churches, priests, and families at . . 398
Khandekki, churches, priests, and families at . . . 399
Khaniki Djori 46
Kharâban, families at 398
Kharâj, the, a Turkish tax on all Christians . . . 384
iniquities practised in its collection . . 385
Kharâlun, families at 398
Khardalânes, churches and families at 396
Kharpoot, town of 33
residence of a Jacobite Bishop . . . 33
entry of a new Pasha into 33
reflections on the event 34
number of villages in district of . . . 63
Khazir, the ancient Bumudas 98
Khergel, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Khor Depni, secession to Rome of the priest and laity of . . 254
Khorsabad 90
existence of 2500 years ago . . . 89
Khoser, the only rivulet now flowing through the mounds of Nineveh . 78
Khosrâwa, statistics of the diocese of 175
churches, priests, and families at . . . 175
Khudhr Elias, stay and entertainment at . . . 348
Khulkhus, churches and families at 397
Killeth, arrival at 53
Jacobite families at 53
ignorance of priests and villagers at . . . 54
Grecian remains at 54
departure from 54
Kiyyet, churches, priests, and families at 397
Kizzil Irmak, the ancient Halys 30
Ko, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395, 397
Kôb 101
Kochânes, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Kojeeja, churches and families at 397
Kooblah, or South, turned to by the Moslems, when praying . . 210
Koolverk, village of, passed 33
Koorsen, churches and families at 395
Kotrânes, churches and families at 396
Koyoonjuk, stratum of pebbles and sand beneath the mound of . . 79
remains lately dug up at 79
Krug, Mr. a Swiss mercantile agent at Amâsia . . . 20
Kurkhé, families at 394
Kushker Oghloo, services of 15

Ladik, arrival at and description of 17
name given by the Turks 17

PAGE

Ladik, supposed ruins of a Greek church at . . . 17
Mohammedans wear the green turban at . . . 17
Ramadhâm, fast of 17
departure from 17
Lagippa, churches, priests, and families at 394
Lambeth, valediction of our late revered Primate at . . 1
Larissa, site of 90
identified with Resen of the Old Testament . . 91
Latikâtha d'Khalâva, gigantic cliff called 208
Latin Missionaries, doctrines of, spread around Mosul . . 150
intrigues of the 161
our Prayer Book misrepresented by the . 193
Layard, Mr. . . . 78, 92, 116, 117, 127, 177, 202, 390
erroneous remarks of, on the term "Nestorian" . . 178
error of, concerning the title of the Eastern Patriarchs . 181
his visit to the Shammar Arabs . . . 347
his biography of Sufoog 347
Leezan, sketch of church of S. George at 227
reception by Kash 'Audishu at . . . 384
return to 389
churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Léwun and Noodes, statistics of the districts of . . . 399
London, return to 359
the Lord Bishop of 61, 267
Lord, our blessed, professed reverence of the Yezeedees for . 128
their ignorance of His person and mission . . . 128

Maalthâya, churches and families at 174
Mabbuaa, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Mâdes, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Magism, in the religion of the Yezeedees . . . 126
Mahmedayeh 399
Makeeta, churches and families at 395
Maken d'Awa, churches and families at . . . 398
Malakhtha, families at 393
Malôta, families at 395
Manoonan, families at 397
Mar Abd Yeshua, symbol of the Nestorian faith drawn up by . 178
Mar Acac and Mar Babai, successors of Babai . . . 143
Mar Addai 136
Mar Audishu, supposed date of the foundation of the church of . 253
greatly venerated by the Mohammedans . . 253
wonderful cures said to be effected at . . . 253
Mar Auraha, ruins of a monastery dedicated to . . . 98
Mar Auraham, statistics of the diocese of 399
Mar Be-Yeshua, churches, priests, and families at . . 398
Mar Behnâm, father of 95
Syrian convent of 94

PAGE

Mar Behnâm, description of 94
specimens of ecclesiastical architecture at . . 94
tombs of Syrian Bishops at 94
portraits of the saint and his sister Sarah . . 95
plan of convent 95
baptistery of 95
subterranean chapel at 95
monumental records at 95
Syriac inscription at 95
chapel at, dedicated to the "Forty Martyrs" . . 95
convent of, the property of the Papal Syrians . 95
venerated by the Mussulmans . . . 96
stratagem often used to save the convent . . 96
interior of the church of 96
why called "Kudhr Elias" 112
Mar Dad-Yeshua, the Patriarch 143
Mar Danièl, ruins of convent dedicated to . . . 99
yearly service performed at 99
sacred beetles at 99
Mar Elîa 149, 200
of Mosul, submission of to Rome . . . 150
Mar Elias 49
Mar Eughene, burial place of 50
Mar Gawar 399
Mar Gawrièl, ruins of convent of 99
Mar Gheorghees, Chaldean convent of 103
Mar Hananya 51
Mar Hnan-Yeshua, diocese of 399
Mar or Mutran Hanna, the name given to the last Nestorian patriarch 150
Mar Ignatius 31
Mar Kuriakòs, churches, priests, and families at . . 395
Mar Mari, regarded as the first Nestorian patriarch . . . 136
conversions by 136
summary of the labours of 136
death and successor of 136
Mar Mattai, traditional abode of 98
Jacobite Bishop at the convent of . . . 60
convent of, the property of the Jacobites . . 95
stay at 96
situation of 96
attacked by the Pasha of Rawandooz . . 96
description and plan of church at . . . 97
chapel at 97
epitaph in church at 97
the residence of Mutran Matta . . . 99
internal economy of 100
filthy state of the convent of . . . 100
Mr. Rassam's stratagem to get it cleaned . . 100

PAGE
Mar Mattai, disclosure of the artifice to Mutran Matta and his joy thereat 100
stay at in 1850 100
why called "Sheikh Matta" 112
summer spent at 391
Mar Serghees, statistics of the diocese of 399
Mar Shimoon 200, 269
law enacted by 147
in full force among the Nestorians . 147
the rightful representative of the Patriarch . . 148
predecessors of, not recognised by the Porte . . 149
tolerated and protected by the Coordish Emeers . 149
his residence at Mosul instrumental in checking secession to Rome 173
invited to throw off the Turkish yoke . . . 188
his conduct on the occasion 188
visit to at Asheetha 191
present to 197
arrival of, at Serspeedho 241
his arrival and reception at Asheetha . . 242
description of his person 242
his position one of care and difficulty . . 242
his address to the people of Asheetha . . . 243
arrival of deputies from Noorallah Beg to . . 245
purport of the message 245
violence of Shammâsha Ishâk on the occasion . 245
reply of the patriarch 246
his message to Noorallah Beg . . . 246
private conferences with 247
letters from the Primate, the Bishop of London, and Bishop of Jerusalem to 247
the character, teaching, and discipline of our Church explained to 247
proposals to establish schools well received by . 248
proceedings of the American Dissenters discussed by . 248
his sentiments regarding their doctrines . . 248
their difference from our Church explained to . . 248
his considerations for keeping friends with the missionaries 248
letter of, to the Primate 251
present to the author from 252
his part in the attempt to depose Noorallah Beg . 262
residence of, burned by Noorallah Beg . . 264
his flight to Jelu 264
his appeal to the Pasha of Mosul . . . 264
deep laid schemes of the Pasha . . . 264
letters to the author from 270
designs of Bedr Khan Beg and Noorallah Beg against . 270
their execution 270
mother of, massacred by the Coords . . 270

PAGE

Mar Shimoon, flight of the patriarch and family to Mosul . . 271
reception of, and family, by Mr. Rassam . . 271
his letter to the English Bishops . . . 271
Romanist attempt to bribe 279
proofs of his attachment to our Church . . 288
his anxiety to receive the Holy Eucharist . . 288
letter of, to the Bishops and Gospel Propagation Society 292
amount of property taken by the Coords from . . 366
refusal of his request to leave Mosul . . 369
his escape and recapture 370
his escape into Persia and return home . . 374
letters to the author from 376
statistics of the diocese of . . . 399
Mar Sleewa, statistics of the diocese of 399
Mar Yaacoob or Ka Sepher, churches, priests, and families at . 174
Mar Yeshua-yau, of Doori 200
statistics of the diocese of . . . 399
Mar Yohanan, Nestorian Bishop of Ooroomiah . . . 187
Mar Yoosef, episcopal superintendence of . . . 173
his intention of appointing one of his nephews to the see of Amedia 173
Mar Yoosef V., proceedings of 163
death of 164
Mar Zeyya 104
privileges enjoyed by 170
his proposal to change the time of celebrating Easter . 170
how the proposal was received . . . 170
the abandonment of the attempt . . . 170
sent to Constantinople 171
recognised as Patriarch by the Porte . . . 171
his return from Constantinople . . . 171
charges brought by the Romanists against . . 171
ordered to proceed to Rome . . . 172
his refusal to obey the summons . . . 172
his departure from Mosul for Khosrâwa . . 172
his resignation of the Patriarchate . . . 172
Mardeen, situation of 47
Ainsworth's description of 47
view of 48
visit to Agha Moorad, at 48
horrible spectacle at 48
buildings, language, and trade of . . . 49
population of 49
Jacobite churches and priests at 49
Syrian Papists, Papal Armenians, Chaldeans, and Jews at . 49
introduction to the Syrian Jacobite Patriarch at . . 49
Jacobite Bishop at 60
rival communities of Romanist Syrians at . . . 63

PAGE
Mardeen, departure from 66
salary allowed by Rome to the Bishop of . . 171
churches, priests, and families at . . . 175
statistics of diocese of 172
arrival at 310
entertained by Agha Moorad at . . . 310
meeting of an Eastern medico at . . . 310
Marriage, formerly permitted to Nestorian Bishops . . 147
now regarded as unlawful to those dignitaries . . 147
Marroghi Kessi, *Kiahya* of Telkèf 163
complaints against 163
punishment of the complainants . . 163
Martyn, Henry, grave of 25
testimony of M. Boré to . . . 25
transcript of stone and epitaph raised to . . 25
Marwânan, churches, priests, and families at . . . 399
Mâtha d'Kasra, Nestorian village of 387
churches, priests, and families at . . 394
Mâtha d'Mar Zeyya, churches, priests, and families at . . 396
Mâtha d'Mart Miriam, churches, priests, and families at . . 395
Mâtha d'Oomra, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Mâtha d'Oriyâyé, churches and families at . . . 397
Mâtha Tahteitha, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Mâya, stay at the village of 252
families at 393
and Derishk, Nestorian villages of . . . 211
Mêdhi, families at 396
Mehdi, Emeer, tradition concerning 209
Melek Taoos, the 122
procession of the 122
worship of, more common than of Sheikh Adi . . 126
the ferouher of Zoroastrianism . . . 127
"Meleks" of the Nestorians, the 259
Memekkan, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Menghèsh, churches, priests, and families at . . . 174
Menjil Awa, families at 398
Merghé, priests and families at 394
Merkânish, families at 397
Mes-Pylæ, thought to be the site of ancient Nineveh . . 90
Mr. Ainsworth's argument in favour thereof . . 90
coincidence corroborative thereof . . . 90
and Larissa, relative positions of . . . 90
Mesopotamia, work of proselytism extended to . . . 2
Mézi 254
churches and families at 174, 392
Mezraa 33
churches, priests, and families at . . . 394, 396
d'Kalayâtha, families at 395

PAGE

Middo, village of 57
interview with inhabitants of 57
Midyat, reached 54
inhabitants of 54
priests and churches, and monastery at . . . 54
pride of its inhabitants in being Jacobites . . 55
dress of the Christians at 55
castle at 55
gold coins ascribed to the Empress Helena found at . . 56
departure from 56
Miles and Taylor, the Rev. Messrs. American Episcopal Missionaries . 358
Minyânish, churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Mohammed, concession of, to Yeshua-yau . . . 149
Mohammed Pasha 133, 197
sudden death of 85
the reasons of his conduct towards the Nestorians 182
extensions of his authority . . . 183
instance of his hypocrisy . . . 185
his continued intrigues against the Nestorians . 187
his hopes of subjecting the Tyari country . 188, 277
disappointment of his anticipations . . 188
complaints of the Pasha of Erzeroom against . 188
severely reproved by the Porte . . . 189
instance of his injustice . . . 206
his refusal to interfere on behalf of the Nestorians . 275
of Mosul 182
visit to 72
surnamed Injé Beirakdâr . . 72
gracious reception of . . . 72
his anxiety to be thought a scholar . 72
his ignorance . . . 73
state of Mosul before his appointment . 73
attempt to assassinate . . . 74
his government and his mode of organizing an army 74
his cruelty, exactions, and avarice . 75
his conduct to the descendants of Mohammed 75
his immense wealth . . 75
his bribes to the Sultan's ministers . 75
his ambition and political intrigues . 76
of Rawandooz, poisoned at Amâsia . . 261
Mohammedan bigotry, instance of 51
Monophysite Armenians, secession of, at Angora . . . 3
Moollah-kieui, Mohammedan town of . . . 34
Mosheim, quotation from, confirmatory of Gibbon's extract . . 145
explanatory remarks thereon . . . 147
Mosul, Jacobite Bishop at 60
Papal and Jacobite Syrians at 63

PAGE

Mosul, number of villages in district of 63
arrival at 70, 255
visits from native clergy at 70
our operations and researches suspended by illness . 76
probable ancient names of 77
tradition concerning the present name . . . 67
principal resting-place between Diarbekir and Baghdad . 77
styled Athoor 78
situation and description and causes of decay of . . 79
manufactures and articles of commerce of . . . 79
agricultural produce of 80
disadvantage of its distance from Europe . . . 80
short-sightedness and supineness of the government of . 80
transport trade to Baghdad from 80
climate of 81
mosques and chapels at 81
minaret of the Jâma-ool-Kbeer at . . . 81
mosques at, said to have been Christian Churches . . 81
ancient manuscripts discovered at . . . 81
Chaldean and Jacobite churches at . . . 82
population of 82
Mohammedans, Chaldeans, Jacobites, Papal Syrians, and Jews at 82
language spoken at 82
Jacobite and Chaldean schools at 83
costume at 83
sulphur spring at 84
their supposed properties . . 84
schism created by Mutran Yoosef at . . . 163
wish to restore the old patriarchal succession at . . 170
desire for ritual reform at 170
proposals to Mar Shimoon at 170
intrigues abetted by French influence at . . . 170
conduct of the court of Rome at . . . 170
salary allowed by Rome to the Patriarch of . . 171
withdrawal of the Anglican mission from . . . 171
its consequences 171
statistics of the diocese of 174
churches, priests, and families at . . . 174
account of the political districts around . . . 182
illness of the author and friends at . . . 192
missionary labours at 267, 281
chapel in the author's residence at . . . 267
effect of its establishment on the native Christians . . 267
success of missionary efforts at 268
the reformed Chaldeans wish to form a separate congregation at . 268
necessity of establishing a school for the proselytes at . 269
intercourse with the Jacobite Syrians at . . . 269
their readiness to reform their errors . . . 269

PAGE

Mosul, assistance from the church at home necessary to that end . 269
the Pasha of 275
participation in Nestorian spoils by the governors of . . 276
arrival of Nestorian captives at . . . 277
heart-rending scenes at 278
departure from 299
separation from friends near 299
Mountain Nestorians, the 148
Mrateetha, priests and families at 394
Muspéran, churches and families at 397
Mutran Abdool-Messiah 44
generally known as Athanasius . . 44
his acquaintance with Bishop Heber . . 44
his secession to Rome and return to his own community and death . . . 44
Mutran Athanasius of Tootoonjee 354
Mutran Auraham, consecrated by Mutran Hanna . . 168
his change of creed and return to Nestorianism . 168
now recognized as Bishop in the Zebar and Mezuriyeh provinces 168
Mutran Basileos, Chaldean Bishop 69
ordained by Mar Yoosef V. in defiance of Mutran Hanna 163
his refusal to go to Amedia, and stay at Telkèf . 163
departure for Diarbekir of . . . 164
his reception there and appointment to the Patriarchate 164
Mutran Behnâm 2, 49, 82
letters from 43
zeal for reform, of 61
blame imputed to 62
opposed to the efforts of American missionaries . 62
episcopal jurisdiction of 100
Mutran Botros, the Chaldean Bishop 42
origin and education of 42
his support of the papacy . . . 42
the reason of his inability to speak French . . 42
consecrated Metropolitan . . . 165
sent to Mosul, to inquire into the conduct of the priests at Rabban Hormuzd 163
Mutran Elîa 198, 200, 281
salary allowed by Rome to 171
not allowed to exercise his episcopal functions . 171
timidity and supineness of 282
his desire to throw off the Romish yoke . . 282
Mutran Gheorghees, imprisonment and death of . . . 372
Mutran Girgis of Kharpoot 43
Mutran Hanna, the patriarch, autobiography and secession to Rome of . 150
conclusions to be drawn therefrom . . 160
deluded by the Pope 161

PAGE
Mutran Hanna, his authority set at nought . . . 162
complained of by the Monks and Latin missionaries . 162
accusations against 162
suspension and successor of . . . 162
investigation of charges against . . 163
restoration of 163
his authority resisted by the Monks . . 163
professedly recognized by Rome . . . 163
cast into prison 164
his release and restoration . . . 164
recognized by the Pope as supreme over the Chaldeans 164
styled Mar Elîa by himself . . . 164
hesitation to acknowledge his supremacy at Rabban Hormuzd 165
his suspension of Mutran Yoosef and the Monks, and their disregard of his restrictions . . . 165
a *pallium* sent from Rome to 167
death of 167
conditions of his first recognition by Rome . 167
the imperial firman granted by the Porte to . . 169
nephew of, consecrated priest and metropolitan, and appointed Bishop over the Nestorians in the neighbourhood of Amedia 167
prevailing opinion concerning the act . . 167
his reception into the Chaldean Church . . 168
Mutran Ignatius sent to Mardeen 163
Mutran Laurentius ordained by Mar Yoosef V. in defiance of Mutran Hanna 163
starts for Diarbekir 168
Mutran Matta, interviews with 52
his knowledge of English . . . 71
his proceedings at Mosul . . . 71
his design of introducing sectarian doctrines and practices 71
his intimacy with the American Independent Missionaries at Mosul 71
his proceedings in India . . . 71
his deposition by the patriarch . . . 71
his libel against the author . . . 71
hospitality of 100
character and employment of . . . 100
villages in district of 101
Mutran Michael sent to Sert 163
Mutran Moosa 96
Mutran Nicolaos, consecrated Metropolitan . . . 165
Mutran Patr Meerza 57
Yaacoob, Jacobite Bishop of Jerusalem . . . 49
character of 60
behaviour of towards the congregation at Jezeerah 61
his receipt of a yearly stipend from Russia . 61

PAGE

Mutran Yeshua-yau, obstacles in the way of . . . 161
frequent change of creed of . . 161
Mutran Yoosef 104, 186, 198
ordained by Mar Yoosef V. in defiance of Mutran Hanna 163
his intrigues against Mutran Hanna . . 164
his flight to Diarbekir and welcome by Mutran Basileos 165
ordered to proceed to Amedia . . . 168
allowed to reside at Alkosh . . . 168
raised to the Patriarchate . . . 172
conversions to Rome by . . . 173
his conference with Mar Shimoon . . . 186
object of his mission 186
his exertions to convert Nestorians to Rome . . 214
Mutran Zeyya, appointed Chaldean Patriarch . . . 168
his proceedings on accession to office . . 168
Mutsellim of Amedia, the 198

Nahra, churches, priests, and families at 396
Nahrwân, village of 70
Nahum, literal fulfilment of prophecy of 79
visit to the so-called grave of . . . 104
doubtfulness of its site 104
annual pilgrimage of the Jews thither . . . 104
its interior 104
Nauberi, families at 396
Navkoor, plain of 98
Nazim Effendi, his espousal of the cause of Bedr Khan Beg . 371
Nebi Yoonas, village of 85
many valuable relics under . . . 85
Nerik, churches and families at 396
Nerwa, churches and families at 395
"Nestorian," origin of the epithet 143
remarks on the name 177
the term, regarded as reproachful . . . 181
Church, seclusion and celibacy not enjoined in the . 220
meat forbidden to the patriarchs of the . . 220
churches, clergy and population, statistical account of the 392
dissensions, consequences of . . . 160
forefathers, their inferiority to the present Chaldean community 176
their superiority to the Nestorians of the 13th century 176
fugitives at Mosul 285
catechism translated for the . . . 286
their attendance at church on Sunday . . . 286
girl, gratitude of a 386
massacre, results of inquiry into the . . . 368
Mar Shimoon on the subject . . . 368
withdrawal of the commission, and policy of the Turks 368
a specimen of Ottoman intrigue and expediency . . 369

PAGE
Nestorian language, the same as of the Jacobite Syrians . . 181
mission, abandonment of the . . . 359
missionaries, the early 134
patriarch, date of secession to Rome of the last . 150
autobiographical account 150
Patriarchs, difficulty of deciding on their right successor 149
civil and spiritual authority of the . . 259
revenue of the 260
of the plains, political superiority of the . 149
recognized by the Porte . . . 149
and Chaldean Patriarchates, confusion as to the extent of the 173
secession to Rome 146
and Coordish tribes, internal dissensions of the . . 189
Nestorians, right of the English to labour among the, called in question 7
liturgies of the 136
charge of heresy against the . . . 143
their conduct on the occasion 143
missions and successes of, as drawn by Gibbon . 143
zeal of the 144
their progresses by sea and land . . . 144
divided into factions . . . 145, 147
their division in the 17th century . . . 145
patriarchs of Ooroomiah 146
called "Chaldeans" by Ainsworth and Layard . 177
of the present day call themselves Soorâyé (Syrians) and their language Soorith (Syriac) . . . 178
the author stated to be the cause of the slaughter of . 189
injustice of the libel 189
moral character of the 219
manner of conducting the Church Service among the . 221
of the mountains superior in intelligence and morality to those of other parts 221
the origin of their religious, moral, and intellectual prostration 221
the cause of its continuance 222
names by which they designate themselves . . 223
their preference for the term "Nestorian" . . 224
their mode of dividing their churches . . 228
support of the clergy among the . . . 228
their fees and other sources of income . . 228
veneration for the clergy by the laity . . . 228
titles of the priesthood and Bishops among the . 228
superstitious practices of the 229
observation of Sunday and Friday among the . . 229
mode of commemorating their dead . . . 229
oblation at the commemoration . . . 229
the festival similar to that of the Yezeedees . . 234
thank-offering among the 235
similar to that of the Mohammedans and the Jacobites of Mosul 235

PAGE

Nestorians, touching of dead bodies among the . . . 235
office for purifying unclean water among the . . 235
object of the office 237
abolition of the ceremony by the Chaldeans . . 238
their superstitions respecting the evil powers . . 238
specimens of charms among the . . . 238
an over-reaching and gift-loving people . . 249
instances of this spirit 249
establishment of schools among the 249
the flesh of swine eaten by some of the . . . 253
the disturbed state of the Tyari unfavourable to operations among the 269
hope for their restoration to the Church of CHRIST . 270
Coordish attacks upon the 270
escape to Mosul of the 277
their deplorable condition and hospitable reception . . 277
indifference of the authorities towards the . . 277
Romish intrigues against the 279
difficulties attending the mission to the . . 282
further exactions from the 369
another visit to the 378
present condition of the 388
total number of the 400
of the plains, weak and degraded state of . . 161
of the Tyari, social and political condition of the . 214
Nestorius 177, 196
Nevgweezan, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Nimrood, stratum of pebbles and sand beneath mound of . . 79
view of, from the north 86
situation of the mound called 87
ground strewed with fragments . . . 87
extent and formation of the mound . . . 87
architectural remains discovered . . . 87
inscription on stone found at 88
similar to those at Khorsabad . . . 88
useful in deciding the date of the building at Khorsabad . 89
the ancient Larissa 89
first identified with Larissa 89
argument in proof thereof 89
site of ancient city of 89
ruins under the mound of 89
bituminous wells beyond the mound of . . . 91
probably provided the builders of Nimrood with cement . 91
inscriptions discovered at, useful as testimony to the genuineness of the Old Testament 92
language of inscriptions at 93
sketch from a slab dug up at . . . 127
Nineveh 77
mounds of ancient 70

PAGE
Nineveh, destruction of by the Medes 78
prophecy concerning, and its fulfilment . . 78
taken by stratagem 78
destroyed by water 78
native ideas respecting the excavations at . . . 378
Nisibeen, besieged by Shapoor 66
fell into the hands of the Persians . . . 67
S. James, one of the Nicene Fathers, present at, during the siege of 67
famous nursery of Nestorianism . . . 67
the rival of Edessa 67
inhabitants of 67
Christians and Jews at 67
relics of antiquity at 67
description of so-called Church of S. James . . 67
traditional grave of the saint at . . . 67
mutilated inscription at 67
Mohammedan veneration for Church of S. James at . 68
traditions concerning the Church . . . 68
departure from 68, 306
reached 305
restorations at 305
Noorallah Beg 185, 191
recognized as Emeer of Hakkari by the Porte . . 261
account of the event by Dr. Grant . . 261
his consequent treatment of the Christians . . 262
his intrigues with the Meleks . . . 262
division of his authority 262
foils the attempt to depose him . . . 263

Oloor Jamesi, the mosque called 326
once a Christian Church . . . 326
transformation of the nave 326
Oolâma, churches and families at 399
Oolash, description of village of 30
Oomra Tahtâya, churches at 394
Ooreesha, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Ooroomiah, declining state of the Patriarchs of . . . 146
the Bishops of 148
statistics of the diocese of . . . 399
Oret, families at 396
Ori, families at 396
Orwantooz, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Osman Pasha at Arghana 36
invitation to dine with 36
ablutions and devotions of . . . 36
conversation of 37
Ottoman Government, temper and spirit of . . . 49
Ozan, families at 398

PAGE
Pa Elan, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Pâghi, churches and families at 398
Papal and Jacobite Syrians, labours among the . . . 285
copies of the Scriptures supplied to the . 285
Parkhilan, families at 399
Parrashin, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Patriarch, mode of electing a 6
Patriarchal family, Romanist treatment of the . . . 171
co-operation of the French Consul in spoiling the 171
succession, dispute about the 145
Paul IV. addressed by Elîa II. 146
Paul Coopri, Monsignor, Roman vicar apostolic . . . 164
death of 164
Peishaboor, churches, priests, and families at . . . 175
Pekhkhen, families at 395
Pelté, Mohammedan village of 33
Perkins, Mr. Justin, the Independent American Missionary . 180
Persia, the Sophis of 145
Persian empire, zeal of the Eastern missionaries in the . . 143
Persian Magians, the 126
"Persian Temple," remains of Ainsworth's so-called . . 204
situation, description, and illustration of . . 204
Pir Zalan, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Piyyòs, churches, priests, and families at 174
Plowden, W. H. C., Esq. 360
Pompey, residence of, at Samsoon 15
Poosan, churches and families at 398
Pope Innocent XI. Nestorian schism effected by . . . 150
Pope Julius III. 145
Port William, visit to 353
Porte, the, designs of, in extending the powers of the Coordish Chiefs 262
success of the stratagem in central Coordistan . . 262
Presbyter Dokeek, ancient MS. by 81
Primate, letters of Mar Shimoon to the . . . 289, 294
Principal design of this work 135
Propaganda, joint letter of Monks and Latin missionaries to the . 162
Pul, son of Sardanapalus 79
Pyân, dangerous ascent of the 212

Rabban Behnâm 50
Rabban dad'Yeshua, churches and families at . . . 395
Rabban Hormuzd, lived prior to the Council of Ephesus . . 102
venerated by the Nestorians 102
burial place of 102
Chaldean convent of, in 1843 . . . 102
Mr. and Mrs Rich entertained at . . 102
twice plundered by the Pasha of Rawandooz . 102
excesses of infidel soldiery at . . . 102
monks inhumanly murdered at . . . 102

PAGE
Rabban Hormuzd, MSS. destroyed at 102
inmates of 102
general ignorance of the priests of . . 102
charm at 103
church and chapels at . . . 103
tombs of Nestorian patriarchs at . . . 103
trick of Chaldean monks at . . . 103
order of S. Anthony professed at . . . 103
seminary for Chaldean clergy at . . 104
reopening of 162
claims of the monks of . . . 162
their obstinacy and decision . . . 165
their deputation to Rome and its results . 166
scheme to obtain an audience of the Pope . . 166
dissensions at 168
the monks allowed to retire from . . . 168
why 169
Rabban Matta 96
Rabbat, churches, priests, and families at . . . 397
Ramadhân, fast of 51
Rammo, the cause of a massacre at Mardeen . . . 49
Râs Kadôma, perilous descent of the 213
Rassam, Mr. 100, 197, 276, 278
complained of by Mohammed Pasha . . . 188
his efforts on behalf of the Nestorians . . 275
Rawandooz, Coordish Pasha of 57, 133
Rawlinson, Major 92
Rawola d'Salabeken, churches, priests, and families at . . 394
"Record," London newspaper, libel against the Author in the . 71
Reish Aina, the site of ancient Resin . . . 91
disappearance of, and replaced by another village . . 91
Rêshé d'Nahra, churches, priests, and families at . . 394, 395
Resheed Pasha 265
Rich, Mr. 25, 89
testimony of, concerning Nimrood . . . 87
visit of, to Mar Mattai 96
entertained by Mutran Moosa . . . 96
Mr. and Mrs. at Rabban Hormuzd . . . 101
Robâra, descent into the valley of 208
Roma Smoka, families at 395
Roman pontiffs, ambitious views of 145
their consequences felt by the Nestorian Christians . 145
Romanist accounts of the Nestorian dissensions . . . 148
Romanists, Imperial sanction granted to, to erect new churches . 24
a direct contravention of the Mohammedan law . 24
Rome, tombs of Chaldean patriarchs at 43
Romish missionaries, opposed by the remaining Jacobites . . 64
attempts of, to induce patriarchs to submit to the Pope 149
partial success of, destroyed . . 149

PAGE
Romish missionaries, their mode of drawing the Nestorians to their Creed 279
Roomeilât, stay at 302
departure from 304
encampment of Cocher Coords near . . . 304
Roomta, priests and families at 394

Said Beg, nephew of Bedr Khan Beg 185
his conspiracy to betray and murder his uncle . . 185
S. Anthony, monastic order of 103
S. Chrysostom, his place of exile and death . . . 21
S. Cosmas, tomb of 41
S. Damian, tomb of 41
S. Ephrem 78
S. James, traditional grave of 67
Sajoor river, adventure at the 353
Sakerran, churches, priests, and families at . . . 396
Salamast, villages in the valley of 175
Saleeba, Patriarch of Antioch, crucifixion of . . . 137
Sallen, churches and families at 396
Samsikki, churches and families at 397
Samsoon, situation and description of 14
anciently known as Amisus 14
favourite residence of Pompey . . . 15
Samsoon, departure from 16
Saoor, town of 53
Sarâmos, churches and families at 395
Sardanapalus, king of Athoor 78
king of Nineveh and Babylon . . . 79
Saté, Armenian village of 52
Seen Awa, churches and families at 397
Seerta, churches, priests, and families at . . . 395
Semiel, village of 70
Senjak, visit to the 123
description and sketch of the 124
type of Melek Taoos 125
the evil principle 125
Serdesht, churches and families at 398
Seri Keri mountain, the 208
Serpel, churches and families at 396
Serspeedho, churches, priests, and families at . . 394
Sert, salary allowed by Rome to the Bishop of . . 171
number of churches, clergy, and population in the diocese of . 175
Chaldean Bishop of 196
Sewrek, town of 318
products of the country around 318
population, mosques, churches, and priests at . . 318
Greek Christians at 318
its distance from different towns . . . 318
departure from 319
Shaklâwa, churches, priests, and families at . . . 175

PAGE
Shammar, visit to 334
the object of his appearance in that district . . 334
our party welcomed by Sheikh Sufoog . . . 336
description of his costume and person . . 336
appearance of the chiefs of the tribes . . . 336
presents to Sufoog and his favourite wife . . 337
dirty condition of the Arabs 337
disaster during the night 337
robbery by the Arabs 337
their refusal to let us go 338
reason for this conduct 338
departure with the caravan 338
instance of Arab brutality 338
the Jullâb crossed 339
affray with the Saych tribe 339
our determination to depart 339
presents from Sheikh Sufoog 340
start for Harrân 340
account of the streams in the district . . . 340
Shammâsha Ishâk 213
Shapoor, flames of persecution kindled by 143
Shareenes, families at 398
Shâwreza, families at 397
Sheikh monuments, myths, or symbols of attributes of the Deity . 118
Sheikh Adi, a name of the Deity in Yezeedee theology . . 115
believed to represent the Deity . . . 112
tomb of, to be regarded as a myth . . . 112
eulogy of 113
the principal shrine of the Yezeedees . . . 105
situation and description of . . . 105
Nazir or Guardian at 105
costume of attendants at 105
inscription and charms at 105
tombs at 106
illustration of monuments at 107
epitaphs on monuments at 108
night spent at 108
conversation with attendants at . . . 108
rebuilt by Husein Beg 110
opinion of its having been a church . . . 110
arrival at 255
Sheikh Maksood, shrine of, at Urfah 326
Sheikh Mohammed, belief concerning 120
Sheikh Nâsir 112
visit from 120
Sheikh Nâzir, caste of, first among the Yezeedees . . 129
regarded as supreme Pontiff of the whole sect . . 130
this office hereditary 130
the province and duties of 130
believed to be endued with supernatural powers . 130

PAGE
Sheikh Nâzir, instance of this belief in a Mussulman . . . 130
abilities of 131
Sheikhs, season for commemorating the principal . . . 118
Shereef Pasha, meeting with 303
his encounter with Bedr Khan Beg . . . 303
his opinion of his conduct 303
Shermen, churches, priests, and families at . . . 392
Shimoons, the, of Van Ooroomiah 145
Shiyyoz, families at 174
Shkeftendiah, Coordish village of 254
Shmooneenes, churches and families at 396
Shoord, families at 394
Shwawootha (Walto district), priests and families at . . . 395
(Berwer d'Shwawootha), churches, priests, and families at 396
(province of Baz), churches, priests, and families at . 397
Silmooan, churches and families at 398
Simeon, successor of James, the brother of our Lord . . 136
head of the Church at Jerusalem . . . 136
Simeon Barmamas, proposed patriarch 145
Sina, churches, priests, and families in the villages in the district of . 175
Sindôr, village of 203
Sinjar, journey through the desert of 299
necessity of Albanian guards 300
Sinjar Hills, the 301
Sinope, arrival at 14
Siwas, entry into 29
ancient name of changed by Pompey . . . 29
once the capital of Lesser Armenia . . . 29
population and trade of 30
Siweené, churches and families at 396
Siyadhôr, churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Sleewa ibn Yohanna, a Nestorian author . . . 136
Smyrna, arrival at 358
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the . . 250
Somâva 399
Soofoolalloo 31
Soowwa, churches and families at 395
Soreenes, churches and families at 395
Shosh, churches, priests, and families at 392
Southgate, Rev. Horatio 2, 14, 358
Spindar, the Coordish village of 254
Stevens, Mr. R., Vice-Consul of Samsoon . . . 278
Strabo, birthplace of 19
Sulâka, proposed and consecrated patriarch . . . 145
surnamed John by the Pope 145
assisted by the Pope in extending the Papal empire among the Nestorians 145
Suleiman Beg, nephew of Noorallah Beg . . . 262
Nestorian attempt to make him Emeer in place of his uncle 262
Sulleimîa, arrival at the village of 87

PAGE
Sulleimâ, Nimrood distinctly visible from 87
Suplakh, the stream called 304
Supna, extensive plain of the 198
the, crossed 254
return of Nestorians to their own Church in the . . 380
Syria, work of proselytism extended to 2
want of English churches and chaplains in . . . 355
its mischievous consequences 355
Syrian authors, index of, by Mar Abd Yeshua . . . 78
Bishops, burial place of 98
or Jacobite Christians, view of the state of religion among the . 59
cause of diminution in number and decay of general intelligence of the 59
clergy and laity, ignorance of the 62
MSS. at Amedia 201
prelates, general incapacity of the 72
proselytes to Rome, superior in many respects to the Jacobites . 63
records, importance of, in reference to Nimrood . . 93
schools, paucity of 62
villages, numbers of in different districts . . . 63
Syrians, their preference for assistance from us . . . 62
their conviction of their Church abuses . . . 62
schism formed among the 62
tokens of promise among the . . . 64
proof of ecclesiastical maladministration of the . . 100
Syrians in India, proceedings of the patriarch towards the . . 72

Tahir-kieui, village of 32
Takiân, village of 69
situation of 70
churches, priests, and families at . . . 175
Talâna, churches and families at 396, 397
Talneetha, churches, priests, and families at . . . 392
Tanzeemât Khairiyyeh, or beneficial ordinances, the . . 134, 361
its effects in Syria and Mesopotamia . 361
Tarmel, churches and families at 395
Tâshish, churches, priests, and families at . . . 393
Tashlik, arrival and stay at 319
Tcah Meteenah range, the 199, 208, 301
valley of 199
Tcalluk, churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Tcamân, churches and families at 174
Tcarmelik, reached 348
Tcarookhia, churches, priests, and families at . . . 174
Tcarookhia Soo, crossed 312
Tceloki, village of 254
Tcil Geri, churches and families at 399
Tehoma district, threatened by Bedr Khan Beg . . . 369
horrible massacre in the . . . 370
Tehoma Gawâya, churches, priests, and families at . . . 396

PAGE

Tcifté Kardash, or the Couple of Brothers 30
derivation of name 30
salt spring at 30
Tcil Agha, reached 304
Tcil Parât, mounds of 302
Colonel Taylor's brother supposed to have been murdered at 302
Tciré Rezen, families at 394
Telkéf, village of 70, 197
meeting with friends at 70
churches, priests, and families at . . . 174, 197
Tell Iskof, churches, priests, and families at . . . 174
arrival at 198
Tell Kabbeen, churches, priests, and families at . . . 175
Tell-ool-Hawa, the, famous as the scene of an engagement . 302
Temeloyo, two Jacobite Bishops called 60
Ter Gawar 399
Terkônes, churches and families at 395
Tigris, the 98
crossed 46, 70, 197
Tigris, plains of the 70
Tineh, churches, priests, and families at 174
Tocât, proselytism at 3
description of 23
once a centre of Asiatic commerce . . . 23
government of 23
stay with the Papal Armenian Bishop of . . . 23
mode of catching leeches at 23
population of 25
churches and monasteries in vicinity of . . . 25
visit to Greek Church at 25
grave of Henry Martyn at 25
called Evtogia by the Armenians . . . 26
probable derivation of name 26
confounded by Ainsworth with Comana Pontica . . 26
Latin inscriptions at 27
Jewish families and synagogue at . . . 27
departure from 28
Toor Mountain 66
Tooré Kardo, supposed to be the spot on which the ark rested . . 69
Toorkhal, description of 22
the site of the ancient Sebastopolis . . . 22
Tootha Shamâya, families at 393
Trajan, the emperor 305
his probable route to Babylon 306
Trioche, M., consecrated Bishop 164
assumes patriarchal authority . . . 172
refusal to obey the orders of 172
Turkish cavalry, cowardice of the irregular . . . 320
government, averse to strong measures against the Coords . 270

PAGE
Turkish ministers, venality of 2
officials, character of the 364
politics, review of 361
provinces, unsettled state of the 364
continued Christian oppression in the . . 364
rulers, complaints of oppression of . . . 46
Turks, instance of tyranny of the 47
their commerce in the Arabian Sea, protected by East India Company 80
the, hated by the neighbouring dependencies . . 362
meditated attack on the Coords by the . . . 372
Coordish preparations for resistance . . . 372
engagements between them and subjection of the Coords . 373
degradation and exile of the Emeers . . . 373
Tyari country, journey to the 197
sketch of Nestorian house in the . . 216
climate and health of the inhabitants of the . . 217
physiognomy and names of the people . . 217
language spoken in the 218
ancient Syriac not generally understood in the . 218
rituals of the 218
ignorance and decay of learning among the Nestorians of the 219
education of candidates for holy orders . . 219
construction of the churches in the . . 227
attachment of the inhabitants to the . . . 227
Christians, outrage against the 184
projected invasion of the . . . 184
amount of Coordish plunder from the . . 365, 366
number of, massacred by the Coords . . 366
amounts exacted by Noorallah Beg from the . 366
and Hakkari country annexed to the pashalic of Diarbekir . 374

Ummôd, families at 396
Ur, or Edessa, became part of the Roman Empire . . . 333
its fall into the hands of the Saracens . . . 333
its rescue by the Crusaders, and their expulsion by the Seljukians of Syria 333
Urfah, Jacobite Bishop at 60
Latin proselytes at 63
arrival at 321
sketch of the citadel of 321
entertained by Mokdisi Yeshua at 321
its situation 322
Greek and Roman relics at 322
fac-simile of ancient inscription at . . . 323
supposed remains of a church at 323
mosque built by Ibrahim Pasha at . . . 323
pool of Sheikh Ibraheem at 323
held sacred by the Mohammedans . . . 324

PAGE

Urfah, Armenian church at 324
Mutran Agop, bishop at 324
Armenian families and priests at 325
Syrian Jacobite churches, priests, and families at . . 325
Armenian chapel of S. Serghees at 327
why called Khudhr Elias 327
tombs of SS. Ephrem, Syrus, and Theodorus at . . 327
Jacobite and Syrian contentions concerning . . 327
spring supposed to have been used by S. Thaddeus at . . 328
Mussulman families at 328
sketch of Hadji's house at 328
impertinence of the Hadjis at 329
seclusion of Christian females, and its effects . . 329
sketch of head-dress of Christian females at . . 329
coiffure of the poorer females of 330
languages spoken at 330
Mokdisi Yeshua appointed British Consular agent at . . 330
his character and disposition towards the church 330
Latin Missionaries established at 330
product of the district of 330
the site of Ur of the Chaldees 331
remains of church of S. James of Ur, at . . 331
Arab name of 331
the district in the limits of ancient Chaldea . . 331
reported residence of Job in the vicinity of . . . 331
Yezeedees in the neighbourhood of . . . 331
a proof of its being part of the Chaldea of Scripture . . 331
return to 344
departure from 348
and Gawar, number of villages in district of . . 63

Water, a symbol of Yezd 117
Welah, churches, priests, and families at . . . 393
Wellesley, Hon. H. his interference in behalf of the Nestorians . 371
Werry, Mr. Consul, his attention and hospitality at Aleppo . 358
Wezeer Awa, churches and families at 397
Wimbolt, the late Rev. H. 356

Yaakoob, successor of Abrahàm 137
of the kindred of Mary, the Blessed Virgin . . 137
his directions prior to his death 137
disciples of, seized by the King of Persia . . 137
Yakoob Nuah Oghloo, a Latin Armenian 20
the English Church confounded with the Independents by . 21
his idea of the English Church 21
Greek copy of our ritual presented to . . . 21
Yeshil Irmak, or ancient Iris 18
Yeshua-yau, patriarch of the East 149
Yezd, Persian title of the Supreme Being 112

PAGE
Yezd, or Sheikh Adi, the good Deity 115
worship offered to 115
"Yezeedees," derivation and meaning of the term . . 112
artifice to evade the hatred of the Mohammedans . 115
reverence for their so-called Sheikhs . . 118
Shaks, illustration of 107
custom observed by the . . . 108
excursions among the 111
family name of the 111
their ignorance of their origin and creed . . 111
their resemblance to the Coords . . . 111
descendants of the ancient Assyrians . . . 112
their stratagem to secure Mohammedan toleration . 112
adoration of the sun by the 116
their mode of worship 116
similar to that of the Indians . . . 116
bathing considered a duty by the . . . 117
fish considered blessed by the . . . 117
have no forms of prayer . . . 117
new year's custom of the 119
feast of the 120
persecution of the, by Turkish soldiers . . 121
their reverence for the colour blue . . . 121
religious festival of the 121
evil principle revered by the . . . 125
mention of Satan avoided by the . . . 125
use of the scarlet anemone by the . . . 125
their particular rites in worshipping the evil principle . 125
seven, a sacred number with the . . . 125
character of the religious services of the . . 125
the modern, have borrowed little from Christianity . 128
preference for the Christians . . . 128
ceremonial washings of the 128
cosmogony of the, different from that of the Old Testament 128
their belief of the world before Adam . . 128
Wednesday and Friday sacred with the . . 129
why Friday is observed by the . . . 129
the only fast of the 129
sacerdotal order of the 129
its divisions 129
their sacerdotal castes prevented from intermarrying . 129
Mohammedanism among the, accounted for . . 129
marriage ceremony among the . . . 131
the Peers and Kawwâls of the . . . 131
funeral rites of the 131
similar to those of the Brahmins . . 131
their belief concerning water given to dead bodies 131
doctrine of the metempsychosis held by the . . 131
peers or elders of the 131

PAGE

Yezeedees, their powers and functions 131
their Sheikhs regarded as scribes . . . 131
temporal chief of 132
general character of the 132
polygamy and incestuous marriages among the . . 133
robberies and murders by the . . . 133
massacre and plunder of the, by the pasha of Rawandooz 133
oppressed by Bedr Khan Beg 133
reduced by Mohammed Pasha . . . 133
profession of Islamism by the 133
toleration towards the 134
an unpromising field for missionary exertion . . 134
ignorance and prejudice of the . . . 134
their indifference to Christianity . . . 134
little hope of their conversion . . . 134
Yezeed ibn Moawiyah, commemoration of death of . . . 129
an artifice to conciliate Mohammedan intolerance . 129
Yoosef, appointed patriarch at Diarbekir 150
V. his jurisdiction over Diarbekir, and death . . 150
Yoosefs, the, of Amida 145
Yulduz Dagh or Mountain of the Star . . . 29

Zab, the great 98
Zakho, provincial town of 70
population of 70
visit from the Mutsellim at 70
families at 175
murder of the governor of, by Mohammed Pasha . . 184
Zarânes, families at 399
Zaweetha, churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Zeezan, churches, priests, and families at . . . 398
Zein-ool-Abedeen, a sacred shrine 63
Zèr, churches, priests, and families at . . . 396
Zerêni, churches, priests, and families at . . . 396
Zerni, churches, priests, and families at . . . 394
Ziner Beg, defeated by the Nestorians 266
barbarity towards the Nestorians . . . 276
Zirkânes, churches and families at 397
Zoma, the Syriac word, wrongly interpreted by Dr. Grant . . 201
its meaning 208
Zorâwa, families at 395
Zoroaster 129
Zoroastrianism 126

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